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ABSTRACT

This report consists of the proceedings of a 1979 conference held for the purpose of discussing policy objectives, strategies, and recommendations related to restoring public confidence in the elementary and secondary educational system. Summarized are the texts of all major conference addresses, as well as the content of presentations and discussions that took place in the conference's concurrent sessions. These sessions focused on such issues as: the diverse demands and expectations placed on public education by parents, students, educators, business, labor, and government; roles and opportunities for the private sector in public education; strategies for improving learning; school management and government; minimum competency testing; the future of equal educational opportunity; public attitudes toward public education; defining the basics in education; educational vouchers and tax credits; the effects of Proposition 13 on public education; social and economic costs and benefits of public education; and various topics related to school finance and finance reform. Appended to the report is a list of conference attendees. (GC)

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"Restoring Confidence in Public Education: An Agenda for the 1980's."

Conference Proceedings

The National Urban Coalition

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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The National Urban Coalition is an urban action, advocacy and information organization which brings together representatives of business, labor, minorities, mayors and leaders of civic, community and religious organizations to improve the lives of urban residents and stabilize and revitalize central cities. The Coalition works through a network of local affiliates and cooperating organizations in more than thirty cities across the country. The Coalition's program and advocacy concentration includes employment/youth employment, national urban policy, urban economic development, urban education, and housing and urban revitalization.

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"Restoring Confidence in Public Education:

AN AGENDA FOR THE 1980s

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January 24-26, 1979

Sheraton Inn and International Conference Center
Reston, Virginia

FOREWORD

Nearly five million children, 10 percent of the public school population, attend school in large urban centers of America. These children represent a tremendous investment in our nation's future. Yet, over and over again, we hear of declining achievement scores, increasing truancy, and massive violence and vandalism in urban schools.

A number of popular reports suggest that public schools are dying. Some speak specifically to the futility of urban education. Careful analyses, however, not only point out the inaccuracies of such statements but present solid evidence of the effectiveness of educational programs which employ varying combinations of educational resources.

This report summarizes the proposed policy objectives, strategies and recommendations that are the essence of an educational agenda for the coming decade. The consensus of our conferees indicates that in order to restore confidence in public education major collaborative efforts among schools, business labor, and other non-school agencies must occur *at the local level*. Coalitions of parents, teachers and students must be organized to demand an educational system that truly serves children.

We must focus on rebuilding our cities and develop strategies to address the problem of disinvestment in the central cities (e.g., a "national industrial siting policy"), and thereby improve the economic base.

It is our hope that all who care about the future of the nation—our children—will recommit themselves to ensure quality and equality in education for all children.

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Opening Session

January 24

"Restoring Confidence in Public Education: A Cooperative Agenda for the 1980s"

A. Craig Phillips presided at the opening session of the conference, addressing the topic from the perspective of a Chief State School Officer. He was followed by Robert MacGregor, President of Chicago United, a business alliance, and by Bruce Williams, Assistant Director of the Rockefeller Foundation.

A. Craig Phillips, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Carolina Department of Education, Raleigh

> *"The restoration of confidence in public education is a complex issue. It involves the fine tuning of the educational system by all who work in it and for it and with it . . . to meet both the needs of individual students as well as the needs of a progressive and humane society."*

Craig Phillips opened the conference, analyzed its theme and goals, and briefly examined the state of education today.

> *Public education in America with all its massive characteristics—universality, continuous opportunity, the cradle to the grave notion, the numbers, the geography, social and economic and political influences, as carried out by a society like ours—functions effectively only if there is a proper adjustment between people, our people and the public education system.*
> *I believe that our great task in restoring confidence in public education depends upon our ability to clarify, to articulate, to stimulate a new perception, a new understanding, massive, comprehensive, reflective of the reality of what public education is, but more importantly, what it can be.*

Robert MacGregor, President, Chicago United, Chicago

> *"Our cities need rebuilding, and to do it the conventional way is just too costly. It won't be done, so let's get away from the leaf raking and the other unproductive kinds of jobs we turn over to the young people. Let's make builders of our young people."*

Business Looks at the Schools

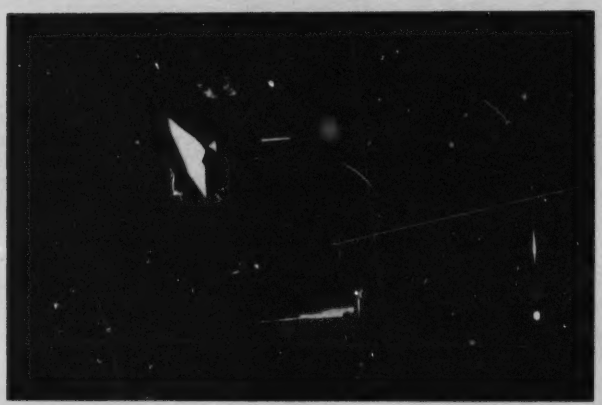
Robert MacGregor addressed the audience "from the viewpoint of a parent who has stayed with the public schools for my three children, and second, from the viewpoint of the business community." He told of a 1974 study by Chicago United, a business leadership group, based on statistics and interviews with personnel officers of twenty major corporations which employ a total of 250,000 persons. The study showed that "too many graduates of our public schools are perceived as having low employment readiness in such basic skills as communication, math, and business practices. There is presently no means of holding school officials accountable for the quality of their educational product and the present school resources which are not effectively used."

MacGregor listed the areas in which Chicago United was cooperating with the schools: lending professionals to the board of education, career education which includes an introduction to the work world, counseling, and vocational training "relevant to the needs of business." He discussed other programs supported by business, including work study projects at the junior high level; programs which train high school youth in housing rehabilitation; and support for legislative changes (minimum wage exemptions, revisions in the Bacon-Davis Act, and changes in employment insurance provisions) which would allow students to have meaningful jobs. He described Chicago United's involvement in setting up a Department of Management Evolvement of Long-Range Planning which provides in-service training for all administrators and principals.

MacGregor called for more authority for principals, greater productivity from teachers, more homework from students, and greater teacher availability to parents. These reforms, he believes, would be possible if accountability programs were instituted and if supervisory responsibility were delegated to assistant principals and department heads. He recommended that a teacher motivation program be set up

in conjunction with an accountability system which would provide "specific public rewards to good teachers," that the teacher's work environment be improved, and that methods be developed to solve the problems of severely disruptive students. He voiced approval of testing students "using national tests, measuring results, monitoring programs, comparing outcomes." But he expressed concern over the loss of middle class students of all races and the resulting one-class school systems. He believes mandatory desegregation programs "which, in turn, lead to a resegregation of the public schools and additional racial isolation, do not work to the advantage of the educational system."

MacGregor offered some solutions: better qualified and trained boards of education (community groups need to actively promote more qualified persons for these boards, whether appointed or elected); a fiscally sound school system (MacGregor believes more money is needed for the public schools but suggests that until there is "discernible improvement" in the schools more funding will not be forthcoming); a careful and sensitive evaluation of bilingual programs; a voluntary integration program (Chicago United supports Chicago's voluntary desegregation plan, "Access to Excellence"); increased emphasis on improving youth's value systems; and self interest programs for the teachers' union which would support measures to improve the schools.



Bruce Williams, Assistant Director, Rockefeller Foundation, New York City

"I think community education—the involvement of the community in the education process is one step toward restoring and improving confidence in public education. . . . In 1969, when we examined the more than 17,000 school systems of the United States, we discovered that very few of them were headed by minority individuals . . . so we started a program designed to identify and effectively train through an internship experience by working through superintendents who we felt were the best in the country."

A Foundation's Role in Education

Bruce Williams traced the history of the Rockefeller Foundation and its five major program categories—(1) arts, humanities, and contemporary values; (2) conquest of hunger; (3) equal opportunity; (4) international relations, (5) population and health. In education the foundation operates through grants to universities, research institutes, and other qualified agencies; through programs for which it takes active responsibility, especially in the international field but increasingly in domestic areas; through providing opportunities for graduate education, individual research through fellowship programs; and through a major dissemination in publication project.

Williams described the foundation's community education/community development projects which are a part of its equal opportunity program. The approach is to consult the communities, find out their concerns, then bring in experts who can deal with these concerns. The goal is to move "minority individuals into the mainstream of American life."

The other emphasis of the equal opportunity program is to train "a different kind of leadership for urban education." The program has offered minority individuals internship positions to work with superintendents who were identified as the best in the country. These interns worked a semester in one city, then moved on to another. In the beginning an intern came into the program with three years experience as a principal. Later, in selected cities across the country, teachers who showed promise for administration were involved in a program based on academic training and experience and were then moved into positions as principals.

Williams took issue with the proposal of Mayor Koch of New York City who had proposed dissolving the board of education and appointing a chancellor to run the schools. He asked: "When you consider that the state of New York has 759 independent school districts of various types which are governed by 5,087 board members, 5,064 of whom are elected, could it be that our new mayor fears the possibility, the probability that, if the New York City board were elected, there might be a chance that the . . . now $3 billion school district budget could fall under the control of a black or Puerto Rican board or chancellor?"

Banquet

M. Carl Holman, President of the National Urban Coalition, presided at the banquet session on Wednesday evening, January 24. Raul

Yzaguirre, Co-Chairman of the Coalition, welcomed the conference participants. Marian Wright Edelman, Director of the Children's Defense Fund, delivered a stirring portrayal of the plight of children in America in her keynote speech. Bernard C. Watson, Vice President at Temple University, gave the conference charge at the end of the session.

Raul Yzaguirre, Director, National Council of La Raza, Co-Chairman, National Urban Coalition, Washington, D.C.

"As a minority, I have a special stake in education. I think for poor people and for minorities, there is not another alternative. We do not have an option to say, 'If it does not work, we can take the kids out and put them in a private school' . . . . What we must do then is to take public education and make it work for all of us. . . ."

Marian Wright Edelman, Director, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C.

". . . It is a penalty in this country to be poor. It is a further penalty to be born to parents who experience frequent unemployment, or whose employment opportunities are limited to relatively uninteresting deadend jobs. These penalties are compounded among children who are black, or brown, or red."

M. Carl Holman introduced Raul Yzaguirre who spoke briefly on the theme of the conference: "As a Hispanic, as a Chicano, I have a great deal of interest in the theme of this conference, for we, as Hispanics have the rather dubious distinction of being the most under-educated minority in this country along with our American Indian brothers." Yzaguirre stated that education is the most fundamental undertaking in the United States and that poor people and minorities have no alternatives to public education. But public education must be made to work, and Yzaguirre sees hope in the fact that what is happening in education is beginning to affect the middle class. "We ought to join with whatever allies we can find and go about the business of trying to reform and make public education what it has traditionally been, an opportunity for poor and minority people to join in the American dream."

"A Caring or Foolish Nation?"

Marian Edelman set the stage for her remarks by describing the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), its beginnings and goals. She criticized the outmoded idea that the typical American family has "two parents with a male wage earner and a mother who stays home to care for two normal children." This stereotype ignores "the 28.2 million children whose mothers worked outside the home in 1976 but for only 10 percent of whom day care slots were available; the children in the 9.7 million single parent families who are disproportionately poor, and the 5 million families who have at least one child with a physical, mental, or emotional handicap."

The romanticized version of the family also ignores "those hundreds of thousands of children without homes at all, and the millions of young teenage parents, themselves merely children, struggling to raise another generation of our young. And it ignores the shackles of poverty that, according to the Carnegie Council report, stack the deck against tens of millions of American children."

Edelman listed the reasons why the Children's Defense Fund exists—as a systematic voice for children in political and policymaking circles where they have no voice; as an organization "which concentrates systematically on the crucial needs of minority children in the context of the needs of all children . . ." in school, health, child welfare, and juvenile justice systems. She went on to say that children's issues "pose a new and effective way to redefine the concept of minority and to build new and broader coalitions for change to supplement and extend the work of civil rights groups in other areas." She pointed out that the problems of poor and black parents exist across the nation "with all colors and all incomes."

Another reason the CDF came into being is that children represent "a preventive strategy." It is easier, more humane, cheaper, and makes more sense to avoid problems than to correct them in adulthood. Finally, the CDF exists because children's needs are urgent and cannot wait.

Millions of black families know children's needs can't wait and have sacrificed themselves so that their children could have a better chance than they did. We have now got to elevate their lonely and silent struggles to the level of public policy so that their government can begin to enhance their, and other families' options, and increase their ability to act effectively. Every child in this country has got to have a floor of decency on which to grow.

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She then presented striking statistics on inequality in the United States:

The black infant mortality rate is almost twice that of white infants. Over the last twenty-five years the black infant mortality rate has declined 40.3 percent; the white rate 47 percent. (Washington, D.C. has the highest infant mortality rate in the country.)

Twice as many black children, five and under, die as white children.

More than twice as many black as white children grow up in intact families below the poverty line. More than three times as many black as white children between six and eighteen years of age grow up in intact families below the poverty line.

Black and white poverty rates are similar for female-headed families when the mother is under twenty-five. But the difference is much more dramatic for such families when the mother is between twenty-five and forty-four—57 percent for blacks and 37.4 percent for whites.

In 1976, per capita income of intact black families was $2,000 less than that of intact white families and $1,000 less than that of a female-headed white family. Black husbands' median income was $7,800 as compared to $11,600 for white husbands.

Almost 25 percent more black women in families with husbands at home and children under three work, and their wages represent a greater proportion of family income than do those of white women. In female-headed families black and white mothers seek jobs at about the same rate.

38.2 percent of black children and 37 percent of white children, three to six years old, attend some kind of preschool. But, one of every two black children attends a full day program while four of every five white children attend a part-time program.

Black children are more than twice as likely to be suspended from school as white children.

Black children are placed in Educable Mentally Retarded classes more than three times as often as white children.

Among children under eighteen in institutions (other than criminal or juvenile delinquent facilities) black males are represented at a rate more than 70 percent higher than that of white males, black females at a rate more than 25 percent higher than that of white females.

As of October 1977, 31.8 percent of black sixteen- to twenty-one-year-olds dropped out of school before high school graduation.

Among sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds, 52.9 percent of black males not enrolled in school were also not employed as compared with 21.5 percent for white males in the same category, 69.2 for black females, and 52 percent for white females.

Unemployment is higher for black high school graduates than for white grade school dropouts. Black college graduates have an unemployment rate greater than that of white workers who never attended college and no better than that of white high school dropouts. Educated blacks have greater opportunities when compared with other blacks, but their education does not equalize their opportunities with those of whites.

Edelman cited a number of positive approaches to improving the lives of children. Among these are becoming an advocate for children, learning about the needs of children and families, accepting the fact that progress comes only through struggle, and resisting the forces of repression. "We are going to have to persist and not be intimidated by naysayers, handwringers, gossips, and detractors. Now everybody talks about how nothing is worth doing and how nothing works. Now the '60s programs are written off by many as a failure because poverty and discrimination didn't disappear politely in a decade. Some things did work, and a lot is worth doing, and we have got to persist."

Edelman also called for a recognition of the fact that "nobody is going to give us anything" and that the ground rules for those seeking changes are different now. "The politics and tradeoffs are much more complicated. We must gain greater knowledge about a range of issues and policies, and gain much greater technical proficiency in how bureaucracies work and how programs are delivered. . . . While we must combat legislative amendments to undercut the targeting in CETA and other urban funds to those most in need, it is equally important for those of us working locally to monitor CETA's implementation."

She stressed the importance of the budget development processes within the federal executive and legislative branches as well as at the state and local levels. She spoke of the need for being specific with policymakers and for expending energy "on real issues and not symbolic ones."

"Consultation, however elaborate, is no substitute for programs and money," she said. And, "Some conferences are important, but we spend all of our time in conferences. . . . The issue today, in my view, is implementation, getting things done, not talking endlessly about what ought to be done."

Finally, Edelman stated that a major agenda for urban children and families will take time. But there must be a beginning. In closing she warned: "We spend more time in the liberal community or in the black community, or in our minority communities fighting each other and picking at each other than we do at the real opponents. . . . We have simply got to learn to pull together."

Bernard Watson, Vice President for Academic Administration, Temple University, Philadelphia

"The cities in this country today are a direct result of public policies which grew out of the federal and state governments. The fact that over ten million units of housing were built outside the central cities, and only eight hundred thousand units of housing were built in the cities is a direct result of public policy in the Federal Housing Administration and the veterans' laws."

A Call to Action

Bernard Watson talked of opportunities and options that should be extended to all children. But the persistent and fundamental problems which poor people and minorities face, he argued, must be dealt with in the area of public policy. "The cities in this country today are a direct result of public policies which grew out of the federal and state governments."

have only one avenue upward, and that avenue is through being able to exercise some control over their lives. That happens in two ways—understanding what influences affect what you do with your lives and the lives of your children, and developing the means to do something about that—and that means employment, and that means education.

Watson closed by outlining three major goals for the conference participants. "Opportunity is not enough," he stated. We must provide people with skills of analysis and understanding; we must extend empowerment to the people who are powerless; and we must re-emphasize humaneness as a foundation for all of our efforts. "If we can understand what binds us together as human beings, if we can understand how to build our coalitions around our common humanity, then we may have a chance to make this country what it ought to be, what its documents say it is supposed to be, and what, God willing, it has got to be."

First Plenary Session

January 25

He continued,

The fact that people live in the suburbs of this city, an increasingly affluent white noose around a minority and poor inner-city ring, grows directly out of policies in the Federal Highway Act which are funded by your tax monies when you drive your automobiles in and out.

The fact that jobs which were located in the central cities have moved to the suburbs is not an accident. They go directly out of public policies which give water and sewer grants, and enable local and state governments to write down the price of land to give to developers with tax abatement or tax forgiveness to develop industrial parks outside the cities. And it is not an accident that we have no well-developed, modern infrastructure of public transportation upon which the poor must depend to get to and from their homes and the jobs, but it is due to public policy. And if for no reason other than that, we have to focus, as Marian Wright Edelman said, on specific issues in the public policy arena.

Watson called the proposed federal budget "an outrage" representing an "outmoded theory about trickling down to the human concerns. It is not a simple matter of guns, or butter. It is a matter of what the priorities are of this society, where we place our bets, what kind of confidence we have in hardware, in theories, and whether we have confidence in people."

It seems to me that what we ought to be talking about instead of pedagogy, instead of what curriculum works, and instead of ways we improve an individual classroom, is about what the basic functions of education are in this country for everybody, what its basic functions are for the poor and the minorities who

Elayne D. Brodie, chairperson of the National Coalition of E.S.E.A. Title I Parents, introduced keynote speaker Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm at the conference's first plenary session, Thursday morning, January 25. Luvern Cunningham then assumed the role of moderator, as Faustine C. Jones and Sara L. Lightfoot addressed the conference.

Shirley Chisholm, Member, United States House of Representatives

"The competition for dollars going to domestic programs is eating into education dollars at all levels of government. Housing, public safety, and public transportation are all making increased demands for funds, particularly in the cities. The new systems of financing public education have not yet been tested and found successful, and probably won't add to the $78 billion a year that is now being spent for elementary and secondary education, both public and private. This is still not enough to properly educate America's children."

"Challenges to Urban Schools in the Next Decade"

Shirley Chisholm called attention to the deep financial trouble in which public education finds itself in this country. There are increasing demands for educational services; costs and salaries are higher. Yet taxpayers are often refusing to vote additional support for the schools. And it is the larger cities which are suffering most from "overdeveloped needs and underdeveloped and dwindling funds."

The cities face the result of a gradual population shift which has left many of them with a large proportion of low-income or unemployed minority residents "in greater need of special services, including education, than any other group in this country." Businesses and industries have left the cities, lowering the tax base. "But the growth in urban expenditures has far exceeded the slow rate of growth in the urban property tax base." Between 1930 and 1960, per pupil school expenditures grew three times as fast as property values. There is at the same time greater need for noneducational services including health, welfare, sanitation, transportation and public housing.

Chisholm mentioned the two factors which contribute to fiscal problems in education: the higher cost of education in the cities and the socioeconomic characteristics of the urban school population. Costly special services and programs are necessary to attempt to equalize educational opportunity. She noted also that enrollments have begun to drop at all levels. Colleges are competing now for "students who can afford the tuition or can attain enough financial aid to make it through." The number of blacks in higher education is declining disproportionately.

Chisholm declared that a democratic society depends on the intelligence and wisdom of its citizens and our large cities will not survive unless "we have a reasonable system of public schools that people have confidence in." She suggested that parents, teachers, and supervisors form a coalition to demand an educational system which "provides more humanity in many of our schools and more serious concern for the emotional lives of so many of the children they presently hold."

Urban children fail in reading and other academic skills because their lives lack the social nourishment necessary to develop a curiosity for learning. There is the "endless assault of television, radio, and other noises that tax the senses of urban black children in such a way that it constantly weakens their attention span, interferes with their listening ability and depresses their desire to communicate with others. . . ." Often children live in crowded homes, and school offers little meaning to them. Urban schools frequently do not provide the increased communication necessary between children and adults and between children of different age levels. An increase in teacher service is more important than educational gadgets, Chisholm believes.

Schools must find ways to build in motivation, to build upon the child's interests. They must encourage those people—in and out of the system—who have had successful teaching experiences. "I am sick and tired of the fact that we are more attuned to the political pressures than to the needs of students and the many social factors that impinge on the educational process from the outside," Chisholm said. But, she added, in every chaotic or undisciplined school there are exceptional teachers able to educate because they care. On the other side of the coin, even good schools have problems getting rid of incompetent teachers.

The legend persists that our schools have been effective agents of social change. But—"For at least eighty years socioeconomic class has determined scholastic achievement as measured by the dropout and the failure ratio. Our schools have done absolutely no more than carry out the program written for them by society. They're not really trying to change that society in the slightest. Yet we have swallowed this rhetoric without checking out the real facts and have created a powerful legend whose influence, it seems, we just can't shake."

Faustine C. Jones, Professor of Education, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

> *"Given the history of blacks in America and their ongoing struggle to be educated, against formidable odds, the wonder is that we have survived at all and that any of us have succeeded. But some of us have, and all of us retain our belief in learning. We did not succumb to the policies of compulsory ignorance which prevailed in this society and which really ended only in 1964 with the passage and enforcement of the Civil Rights Act."*

"Historic Roles of Public Education"

Faustine Jones examined the historic roles of public education and the perceptions of traditional educational historians such as Freeman Butts, Larry Cremin, and Henry Steele Commager. They looked at American society and portrayed that society as basically democratic and good, though possessing weaknesses. They believed that the problems were being attacked by concerned groups and individuals. These historians thought schools contributed to the gradual improvement of this society and its people.

The revisionists, whose books began to appear in the late '60s, include Clarence Carrier, Joel Spring, and Michael Katz. They also write the history of education, but they attack the system and the illusions it has created. "They find American society to be racist, class-oriented, conservative, materialistic, and bureaucratic."

Which interpretation is more accurate? In her search for the answer, Jones looks at the effect of schools and schooling for most individuals as well as society's intent for the schools. She traced the history of public education from its roots in colonial New England through the revolutionary period and up to the present. Most opposition in the early days was to the concept of universal public education, not to universal education at the elementary level only. Some thought only paupers should be educated at public expense, and others that education was a religious function. Still others believed that their culture and language would be lost in public schools. Resistance to free secondary education was even greater. Critics contended that high school and college education for the "lower classes" would result in many malcontents, that they would be unwilling to do manual or farm labor, and that many would be taxed for the education of a few.

The legal basis for public high schools is only about 100 years old, and there has been a well-developed high school system for white youth for less than 100 years. The schools were largely urban-centered and a major role of the public schools was "to provide children and youth with the skills, techniques, and knowledge for success in corporate America." Later, John Dewey and other exponents of progressive education conceived of the schools as helping students adjust to a changing society. After World War II, the schools were indicted for not educating children, especially in the sciences and mathematics. This indictment continues today from parents, employers, and taxpayers.

Turning to the history of the education of black children, Jones said: "Let us remember that while compulsory attendance was becoming public policy for white children in schools, compulsory ignorance became entrenched for black children as educational policy."

Blacks have had to struggle for education since pre-Civil War days. Few slaves were allowed to learn to read and write. There were few free blacks in the South and most were not educated. Free blacks in the North, once the stigma of charity was removed from the schools, continued to press to have their children admitted to the public schools. In the South, after the Civil War, the Freedman's Bureau set up many schools, but the Bureau was only in operation a relatively short time. By 1880, a third of all black children in the United States were in public schools. But the schools for blacks and whites in the South and the border states were unequal, and the struggle for a decent education continued. Many blacks sought better education in the North.

It was not until 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education* that the concept of "separate but equal" was overturned. But "the struggle for equality, educational and social, was just beginning. . . . Since 1955 we have seen black students pushed out of schools, black teachers and principals dismissed, demoted, and sidetracked into jobs with little meaning, and prospective young teachers often not finding employment." Jones discussed the continuing struggle today of black parents to improve the schools despite "northern style de facto segregation" and despite the contentions of those in the educational establishment who continue to ask, Can blacks learn?

> *Today, we must find new ways to assure that our youth do not succumb to the more subtle plans for what I call voluntary ignorance, plans which include permissiveness, availability of drugs, suspension, push-out, fads in educational innovation, and a general put-down of the worth of schooling.*

Despite the motives of many policymakers, Jones believes that the effect of public education "has been to make a very meaningful, identifiable, verifiable difference in the lives of a great many Americans." She concluded by calling for a rededication to public education because "there is no market for ignorance in this post-industrial society."

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, Associate Professor of Education and Social Policy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

> *". . . A critically important ingredient of educational success for black and white children lies in the power relationship between communities and schools rather than in the nature of the student body. The nature and distribution of power among families, schools, and communities is a critical piece of the complex puzzle leading toward educational success for all children."*

"Black Families and Schools, Challenging the Myth"

"The historical and contemporary relationship between American blacks and public schooling has been passionate and ambivalent," according to Sara Lightfoot. Blacks cling to the promise of education despite the writing of critics of the schools such as Christopher Jencks, who warns in his book, *Inequality*, that schools are not effective institutions of social mobility and change.

Lightfoot discussed "the assymetric relationship between the dominant and powerful school and the relatively vulnerable and depressed families in communities." She noted the lack of continuity between what the black child learns at home and the social and intellectual lessons of school and stated that this lack of continuity is exaggerated by "the conceptual framework and methodological strategies and ideological inclinations of social science researchers." She contends that social scientists have searched for sources of failure within families and within children and have not challenged the lack of power of minority communities vis-a-vis the schools.

Lightfoot regards Kenneth Clark's work in education as a transition from the emphasis on the inadequacies of ghetto life to an examination of the "structural and interactional patterns within schools that do not provide supportive, nurturing, and receptive environments for poor black children." Yet, she said, Clark continues to be preoccupied with explaining the deviance and deficiencies of poor black children. Research objectives and findings are linked to "prevailing social, political and ideological agendas," Lightfoot maintains, and even in their ivory towers social scientists do not escape their own histories, their cultures and education.

So educational practitioners have found comfort in the findings of the social scientists, and teachers have been able to rationalize their belief that "lower class minority families are destructive settings that have an irreversible, negative influence on children never to be undone by schools." The sad irony is that for most black children success will only come if "continuity, trust, accountability and responsibility (are) shared between family, communities and schools." Families must be recognized as educators, Lightfoot believes, without degrading or compromising educational excellence. She pointed to what happened in the sixties when well-meaning "liberated teachers . . . invaded black communities," but often offended black parents who wanted "a more rigorous, traditional education that focused on the basic skills of reading and writing."

Lightfoot believes that what is needed is a distribution of power and shared responsibility between families and schools in poor and minority communities. She mentioned instances reported by Herbert Walberg from observations at the King School in New Haven, Connecticut, and by *Time* and *Newsweek* writing of some all-black schools in Chicago, where parents and teachers successfully built collaborative relationships.

She maintains that a critically important ingredient of educational success for black and white children lies in the power relationship between communities and schools rather than in the nature of the student body. "Mixing black and white bodies together in the same school and preserving the same relationships and perceptions between the schools and the families they serve is unlikely to substantially change the structures, roles, and relationships within schools that define the quality of the educational process," she concluded.

Following the plenary session, six concurrent sessions were held to discuss what various constituencies—parents, students, educators, business, labor, government—expect from the public schools.

Concurrent Sessions

Morning
January 25
Session 1

"Defining the Roles of Public Education: What Do Parents Want from Our Schools?"

David Stratman answered the question posed in this session by stating that parents (1) want their children to be challenged to the highest level of their ability (2) want their children to be treated with respect and (3) want them to have well designed, well thought out instructional programs.

The main obstacles to children learning are political, not technical, Stratman believes. "By 'political', I mean they can be reduced to a question of how the child is viewed and how the child is treated, . . ." he continued. Many different people come into contact with a child during the course of his or her education, but for only brief spaces of time. Parents, however, are involved for life, so their role in the educational process is vital. Policymakers, teachers, administrators, everyone concerned with education must take the role of parents in public education seriously, Stratman contends.

David Stratman, Director of Governmental Relations, National PTA, Washington, D.C.

". . . If you look at the situation, a teacher is the sole representative of adult society in the classroom—the sole representative of the outside world in the classroom for those children."

The National Coalition to Save Public Education and the National Parent-Teachers Association are dealing with three questions with which parents have to be involved, Stratman noted. One of these is standardized testing—the use of norm-referenced tests which are based on the concept of a bell-shaped curve of intelligence. This practice has more to do with sorting out children than it has to do with intelligence, he contends. Diagnostic tests, on the other hand, can help determine a student's weaknesses and strengths and can be used to design an instructional program to address these weaknesses and strengths.

Another problem parents' organizations are facing is student discipline. Discipline is extremely important but it has to be regarded as a symptom of a more deep-seated problem if it is to be handled effectively, Stratman believes.

The third question Stratman discussed is teacher expectations and the fact that a whole range of social expectations are conveyed through the teacher. The PTA is concerned with insuring that the highest expectations exist in society for what children can achieve and for the kind of care necessary for their talents and abilities to be nurtured to their fullest development.

Finally, Stratman referred to the debate over tuition tax credits and his feeling that tuition tax credit legislation would reverse the federal government's policy of attempting to equalize educational opportunity. Such legislation would set up a "two-class system of education in the United States by force of law, or by establishing a system of private schools which would receive a certain proportion of federal funds and which would, by emphasis of federal policy, assume a new role they had never had before," he said.

Linda Moody, First Vice President, District of Columbia PTA

"Participation by parents at the level of classroom and school building activities tends to improve children's sense of identity, self-worth and possibly their achievement, and enhances feelings of mutual trust between school staffs and parents."

Linda Moody, a volunteer in the public schools of the District of Columbia, thinks parents want the schools to provide competent staff able to meet the needs of individual students. Parents want teachers to be able to keep current, accurate records of student progress; to assist and encourage the slower student and to challenge the gifted student; to encourage and motivate students to attend school by keeping accurate attendance records; to notify parents, students or guardians if a child is failing, Moody reported. Parents also want children to be taught how to fill out basic forms for job applications or insurance, and how to balance a checkbook. They want good counseling for their children and a competent staff at all levels who can help children move toward their goals.

Moody listed the following additional concerns of parents: (1) the school system should develop and provide meaningful curriculum with input from students and parents; (2) parents and students should receive "adequate and timely" notice in writing of board of education rules, regulations and policies; (3) parents should be involved in establishing educational goals and policy; (4) school buildings, facilities and equipment should be safe and sanitary; (5) there should be adequate and up-to-date books for the schools; (6) teacher contracts should be negotiated sufficiently early to avoid interruption or threat of interruption by a teacher strike.

The school system should want and expect parents to spend more time in school with their children, according to Moody. Children should be respected and not subjected to "ridicule, harassment or any punishment which is demeaning or derogatory," she said.

Parents believe that "effective communication with the total community can create a sense of belonging, and a wish to participate and support the educational process," Moody said. Parents and community people must have relevant information in order to understand the school and its educational priorities. They must also be informed of the scope and diversity of region-wide opportunities for involvement and participation. "Participation by parents at the level of classroom and school building activities tends to improve children's sense of identity and self-worth—and possibly their achievement—and enhances feelings of mutual trust between school staff and parents," Moody concluded.

Joyce Constantine, Montgomery County Council of PTAs, Rockville, Maryland

"I believe one thing that we can agree on is that we want our children to get the best education possible. We want them to learn basic skills so that they can function effectively in a democratic society."

All parents want their children to get the best education possible, Joyce Constantine said. Parents want children to learn basic skills so they can function effectively in a democratic society; to learn social skills since schools are, after the family, the most important socializing influence in society; to have some knowledge of government.

She emphasized the importance of schools being responsive to parents from the initial stage when parents first go to register their children. She talked of the PTA and its value as an organization. She described the Council of PTAs which, in the PTA hierarchy, fits between the local and state PTAs. The local PTAs are self-governing. The Council is made up of representatives from the locals, presidents and other officers. It provides a forum to discuss school problems, to offer leadership training, and serves as an information link between parents and the school system. The Montgomery County school system is large and complex, so working with its bureaucracy and seeking answers to problems require know-how which the Council provides. Council members sit on task forces which the school system sets up to deal with particular questions such as the grading and reporting policy.

Constantine reported that two issues the PTA worked on recently were the establishment of middle schools and the questions of which schools to close due to declining enrollment. She stated that the PTA Council was successful in pressuring the board of education to adopt a community involvement policy which established guidelines for participation in decision-making in local schools and for principals in working with parents. She also discussed the two committees which have been set up in each school—a discipline committee and a guidance and counseling committee, both with parents, students and teachers involved.

Discussion
Session 2

A participant asked the national PTA's view on elected vs. appointed school boards. Constantine answered that there is no official policy, but the organization has tended to support popular election of boards.

"Defining the Roles of Public Education: What Do Students Want from Our Schools?"

Virginia Lopez, Student, Adams Junior High School, Los Angeles

"We students put demands upon our parents, the community, and our educators. We have not yet done anything in return. If we expect teachers to be adequately trained, then we should expect to work to our fullest capability so that we can absorb all that the teachers have to offer."

Virginia Lopez briefly described her school: it is in central Los Angeles; its student population is 70 percent Latin American, 28 percent black, and 2 percent Asian and white.

Lopez said that students expect parents to teach them proper social behavior, to communicate with appropriate language, to respect what public education offers, to give moral support, to encourage them to become involved in school activities. Parents should be active in determining the policies of the schools and should attend school functions, Lopez believes.

She also recommended that community representatives share in school activities; that they talk to students about different career opportunities; that they participate in school functions since students are a part of the community; and that educators be well trained in their subjects.

Lopez spoke then of physical aspects of the school: a school's physical plant should be adequate and not overcrowded. Classes should be small and there should be sufficient recreation areas for the number of students enrolled. Lopez also mentioned student responsibilities—to work to their fullest capacity, to help care for the physical plant, to begin working toward their life goals.

Ronald Mesa, Student, Mitchell Junior High School, Rancho Cordova, California

"Students want to be judged and graded not by the color of their skin, or what their beliefs are, but by their character."

Ronald Mesa believes that students ask of their schools an education that will prepare them for college and jobs. Students want to be judged on their character, not on the color of their skin or on their beliefs. He thinks students should have a voice in school policy-making and should be informed of and involved in changes which will affect their education.

Michelle Belle, Student, Dominquez High School, Compton, California

". . . Education is the basis of our future. Our future is the future of the world. So, in order to have a better world, we need to have the best education possible."

Students expect to have teachers who are interested enough in and dedicated to their work to provide the kind of education needed in this expanding world, according to Michelle Belle. Students want more protection from outsiders entering and creating chaos, a better security system in general. They want prompt attention to repairs, and they expect that promised changes be made in reasonable time.

Otis Johnson, Student, McClymonds High School, Oakland, California

". . . There is a lag in education because of the mistakes made in the past. They cannot be corrected by putting more money in the system. Change will come about when we become a little more dedicated to our cause; parents, teachers, students and administrators alike."

Otis Johnson reported that his school is one of the few remaining schools in Oakland with 100 percent black enrollment. He believes that students should be educated to the full extent of their mental capacities; they should have the basic skills to be intelligent consumers and citizens. Johnson thinks parents must be more responsible for their children and insist that they attend school. Administrators and teachers, too, must be concerned, or children will get their education on the street. Students must realize that schools are for learning, and school must not be a game, Johnson said. Encouragement and role models are also important. Johnson suggested that there should be more education heroes, because too many students now look up to sports heroes. Since there is often not a father in the home, he continued, there must be a substitute role model for the child—a big brother, teacher or administrator.

He noted that education is suffering because of past mistakes and more money is not the way to correct these mistakes. "Change will come about when we become a little more dedicated to our cause: parents, teachers, students and administrators, alike," Johnson concluded.

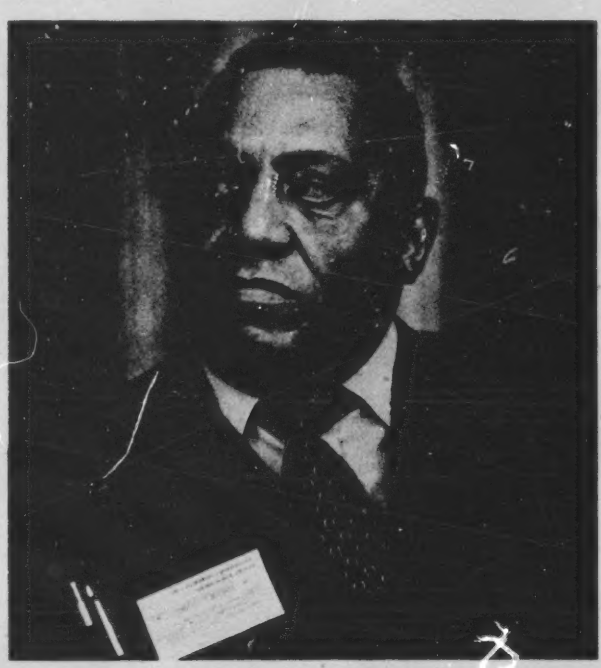
Sheri Fox, Student, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri

"Counseling should help the student get as much financial aid as possible when he is applying for college, and help broaden the student's career outlook—not just for college or the Army."

Sheri Fox advocated more counseling in the schools, especially for juniors and seniors in high school. Career counseling is especially important. She thinks students should be helped to get necessary financial aid for college and to broaden their career outlook. There should be less emphasis on sports, Fox believes. She suggested that if counselors help with students' personal and emotional problems, dropout rates might go down; unruly students should be given help to discover why they are disruptive. She also recommended that the ratio of students to counselors should be lowered. (Ms. Fox reported that in her high school there were five counselors for 2,000 students.)

Session 3

"Defining the Roles of Public Education: What Do Educators Want from Our Schools?"



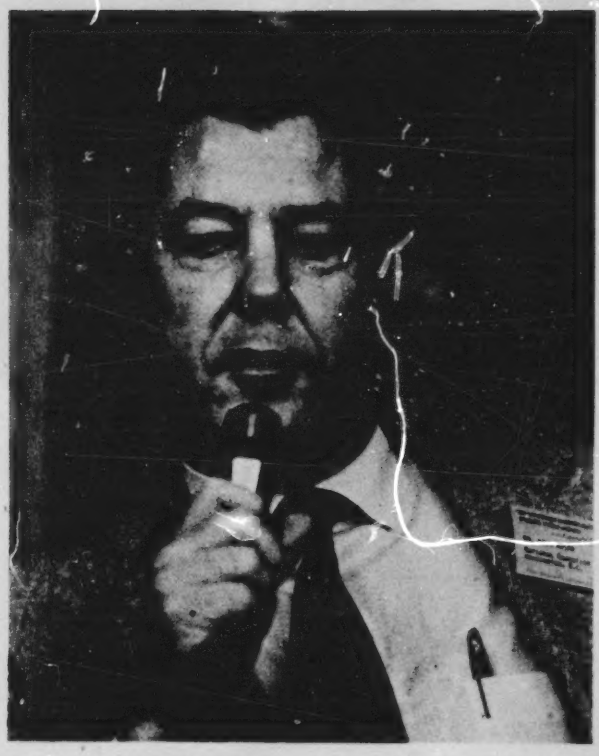
Winston Turner, Director of Professional Activities, National Association of Elementary School Principals

"No longer can we, as principals and teachers, sit in the school building and make all the decisions that are best for the children. We must include the parents and the teachers in evolving an educational plan that's going to work for the children."

Winston Turner thinks that educators want to establish a climate that is conducive to learning and teaching. In order to do that, principals must work with parents, teachers and children. Educators want an "understanding, competent and concerned" staff. Turner spoke of the variety of jobs schools are asked to do and said that, if this is the case, schools should be evaluated on the range of services they perform, not just on the basis of test scores. Educators don't object to being held accountable but would like to be held accountable "for those things you have given us the resources for, which we say we have the experience and the competence to do."

Boyd Bosma, Human Relations Specialist, National Education Association (NEA), Washington, D.C.

"In the area of school desegregation, we need to move somehow to find a way for the government to require every school district to take those steps that are really going to end racial and ethnic isolation and the discrimination that results from it, whether it requires metropolitan desegregation or whatever."



Boyd Bosma described his job at the NEA working in areas of civil rights and discrimination, primarily on school desegregation, in every part of the country. Now he works largely with teacher groups to develop support for desegregation and to make it work as well as possible.

He noted that difficulties between communities and teacher groups, or between teacher groups and school administrators or school boards, often are the result of a failure to communicate over a long period of time. In urban school districts, especially, alienation sometimes grows out of the frustrations encountered in the running of schools, out of the daily problems teachers face, Bosma continued. He stated that most teachers go into teaching wanting to provide a service, wanting an intellectual life, wanting to help children. But, he explained, situations arise in which teachers feel that they are scapegoated, that their rights and those of their students are not recognized, that resources are inadequate, or that there is a lack of support from parents and school administrators.

Bosma said teachers want some accountability at the level of decision-making authority. They control far fewer conditions than is usually recognized. He listed a number of changes teachers would like to see: an end to discrimination and double standards, respect for children and for teachers as professionals, good learning conditions, access to books, audio-visual materials and the kind of resource materials that help children to learn. He reminded the participants that teachers, parents, and students are traditionally excluded from the effective decision-making process in schools. Cooperative partnerships with parents, students, and community organizations are the only way teachers can help bring about conditions which will provide more effective education in urban school environments, he believes.

In some urban communities there is a reasonably consistent pattern of exclusion of teachers from planning for school desegregation. Bosma stated that often school strikes which occur at the beginning of the desegregation process have been deliberately provoked by school administrators and school boards. He recommended that the participants read a three-year study of the Emergency School Aid Act (available from the U.S. Office of Education or the Systems Development Corporation in Santa Monica). This study showed that in desegregating schools the provision of human relations programs, including in-service training of teachers, resulted in "statistically significant improvement in students' reading and math scores. . . ."

But the Office of Education for a period of years has deliberately conspired with school administrators in many large urban school districts to require that Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) funds, school desegregation assistance money, be used for so-called compensatory reading and math programs which were generally funded under Title I funds, not under ESAA, in order that schools not get into the more controversial area of providing human relations activities for the schools.

Teachers want to see an end to the hypocrisy in the public school system, according to Bosma. This is particularly true, he said, with grading systems or with homework which both parents and students often resist. He noted that teachers also take issue with the testing system, largely controlled by six testing corporations which refuse to exert controls to guarantee that their tests are not discriminatory.

Bosma also maintained that the government must "effectively require every school district to take those steps that are really going to end racial and ethnic isolation and the discrimination that results from it, if it requires metropolitan desegregation, or whatever." He stated that the evidence shows that mandatory desegregation programs are more successful than voluntary ones. He cited New York City as an example of a school system with a high percentage of minority students and a low percentage of minority teachers. NEA's experience is that "the greater the degree to which the proportion of minority teachers in a school, particularly in a secondary school, corresponds to the proportion of minority students in that school, the more likely we are to be able to avoid severe problems relating to crime, vandalism, student achievement, loss of teacher-student morale, and other areas."

Bosma believes teachers have a unique contribution to make, not only in the area of desegregation, but in all the activities in the schools. NEA attempts to develop strategies in several interrelated categories of activities. These are the protection of teacher and student rights; quality education—good schools and stable school environments, good learning conditions; and equal educational opportunity.

He suggested five major approaches to quality integrated education: (1) bilingual, bicultural education; (2) multicultural education that reflects our pluralistic society; (3) desegregation; (4) integration, which "implies a quality of experience and relationship among people that allows them to work together and live together more effectively in a diverse society"; and (5) excellence in education.

Jane Mayes, Teacher, The Robert E. Lamberton School, Philadelphia

"We must teach the child that his dignity need not be defined by extraneous standards set down by anyone other than himself. We must teach that education is more than grades and credits and diplomas and degrees. We must teach the child to assess and use what he has to get what he needs. And as we teach it, we might do well to learn it."

19

Jane Mayes suggested that public education has overlooked one of its publics—"one collective group of people who share only the extraneous qualities of melanin and poverty." When policymakers discovered that an increasing number of inner city minority children were performing below grade level,

> *Creators of policy and curriculum fled to their drawing boards; constructs were constructed, hypotheses were hypothesized, studies were studied and word came down: urban minority children were underfed, undercultured, denied, disadvantaged; and nonverbal. So man created compensatory education.*

Mayes sees two possible roles for public education—to become an exclusively custodial institution, or to become a new kind of broad-based, all-inclusive social institution. Performance contracting, she believes, has the "potential for reshaping public schools to become purely custodial." But society and the schools can no longer remain insular, so the possibility of schools becoming broader-based social institutions grows.

Mayes contends that the individual child should be the primary concern of educators, and that subject matter should be only a means for teaching. As schools exist, there is a need for someone to listen, argue, cajole, sympathize, and motivate children, she said.

> *These are elements that cannot be programmed and packaged and presented to boards of education as part of a performance contract. Our goal has to be to prepare each child for his tomorrow as best we can. . . . The more contact I have with children and teachers, the more convinced I become that what we teach is less important than how. If we can somehow prove to a child his inherent worth and help him learn to think within the parameters of whatever nature has given to him, if we can instill within that child an appreciation for his own excellence, his own abilities, as measured against himself, we will have armed that child with survival tools that will carry him through the shoals of becoming an adult.*

Awilda Orta, Principal, Junior High School #99, Director of Bilingual Education, District 4, New York City

> *". . . The goal and the philosophy of my school—and I believe it should be a goal of public education—is to enable youth to function effectively in and contribute thoughtfully and creatively to present and future society, with a commitment to human and humane values, and with the realization of personal satisfaction and contentment."*

Awilda Orta, whose school is in inner city New York, believes the goal of her school and of public education "should be to enable youth to function effectively in and to contribute thoughtfully and creatively to present and future society, with a commitment to human and humane values, and with the realization of personal satisfaction and contentment."

She believes educators, too, must have goals, and there must be a plan for accountability within the system. Accountability, now, is the burden of the students who face a Regent's Competency Test in New York State. In planning for accountability, one of the needs is for "a true articulation between grades"; in planning for a high school, there must be work with the elementary and junior high schools. In the same sense, Orta thinks elementary schools must prepare students for what lies ahead educationally, and the level of expectations must be high for all students.

She suggests that the most important, most crucial person in the school is the principal. Revitalization and change must begin with the principal; and teachers must be held accountable for "bringing about definite changes."

Orta also stated that universities must do a better job of training teachers, and teachers should know that their training never ends. "Inservice courses, university courses, and periodic seminars" are all necessary. She recommended that, to help stave off teacher "burnout," teaching staff constantly be rotated. "Teachers need to know that the skills they achieve in one area can be used in many different ways in other areas, and all the burden shouldn't be on the teachers. There should be a sharing of resources. Districts should communicate and share ideas, resources, and staff. It happens that cities don't talk to each other, states don't talk, districts don't talk to each other."

Orta went on to say that parents should be included in the real decision-making in the school and not saved "for special holidays or cake sales." She urged that the goals of public education not be linked to the interests of a few or we will be able to expect little from public education. "But . . . I know that those children out there will not allow us to be complacent anymore. The message is loud and clear across this land. You may think it's called violence in the schools or lack of discipline but to me it's a message, and it's saying, 'we want more, we expect more, and when are you going to give it to us?' "

Discussion

A participant working with "parent unions" asked about additional ways to "overcome the appearance of what is a rather pervasive sense of professionalism on the part of teachers that puts off many lay people."

Bosma responded, "It is necessary for us to find areas of dialogue and communication, particularly, effective participation in working toward our common interests. It's in our interest, for example, for school administrators and school boards to understand the concepts of collective bargaining. . . . It's in our interest for parents to be organized and to have effective spokespersons who can articulate the needs and concerns of parents."

Orta added, "What I teach my teachers now is that these [students] are fantastic human beings and they'd better be very good and be on their toes, because I'm going to be demanding a great deal from them."

Turner remarked, "If you would even have the child write a little note about something positive that he has done in school that day and send it home to the mother, so that mama gets an idea that you're not only concerned about the negatives, but also about the positives, I think simple things like that go a long way. I encouraged the teachers to have a classroom newsletter that would go home to the parents, telling them about positive things."

A parent asked how parents can hold teachers accountable. "How do we measure the performance of our schools if we don't have the testing, and if we don't have the benchmarks we can judge performance on?"

Bosma answered, "Most teachers do not think tests alone are an appropriate means of making schools accountable, because they don't measure the kind of learning goals that we ought to have in the schools."

Session 4

"Defining the Roles of Public Education: What Does Business Want from Our Schools?"

Thomas Boyd, Assistant Vice President, Corporate Social Policy, Chemical Bank of New York

> *"It seems to me that business has been singled out as a constituency of public education because it is a primary consumer of a particular product of that system, namely, high school graduates in urban settings."*

Tom Boyd opened the session by discussing the reasons for business involvement in public education. Corporations maintain a sort of quality control and express their satisfaction with the product of public education through their hiring process. Corporations also consider the quality of a public school system when they make decisions about where to locate. Finally, "as tax initiatives and tax reform measures seize our political imagination, and as corporations play an important part in the political fabric of this country—either licitly or illicitly—it is important to pay attention to the issue of how we pay for systems as essential as education."

Frank McGeogh, Senior Staff Assistant, Employment Relations, General Motors Corporation, Detroit

> *" . . . I think as a corporate citizen it's really necessary to be involved in the community. The efforts that we are making with the Detroit public schools are a partnership effort and not one-way communication."*

Frank McGeogh told of General Motors' cooperation with the schools in a number of projects after it became apparent that "business and education can no longer operate in a vacuum and expect to achieve a common goal."

General Motors is currently involved in three projects. One is a counselor-teacher internship program designed to expose teachers, administrators and counselors to what industry is like today. They can then pass this knowledge on to their students. Approximately 100 counselors and vocational education teachers spend at least a week in one of GM's ten operating facilities in Detroit. They see every facet of the business, interview employees, and listen to presentations from various personnel.

McGeogh also described a career development cooperative education program designed for students with high potential in math and science. Ten high school juniors are selected on the basis of demonstrated high potential, but they are not necessarily high achievers. The two-year program is designed to give students exposure to engineering-related areas in order to motivate and encourage the students to realize their full potential. During the school year they work twenty hours a week, and in the summer they are employed full-time. It is possible they may continue in college as co-op students.

The third GM project, called "classrooms in the plant," brings a class of about thirty-five students into a plant for a week. The class is exposed to all facets of the business, and the work is correlated with what they're doing in school. For example, for social studies some of the GM resource people in international relations may talk to the students about how the economy of a new business affects a developing country.

McGeogh stated that feedback from teachers, administrators and counselors on all these projects is important in evaluating the programs.

Irma Correa, Section Chief, Community Relations, Western Electric Company, New York City

> *". . . Don't forget the children. Upgrade the middle and lower grades, and strengthen basic education. Keep the board of education talking, and make business committed to the success of education."*

Irma Correa talked from her perspective as a supervisor for twenty years at Western Electric. When the company began to employ minorities, she found that most applicants could not pass the entry level test. She reported that a survey she had taken among different business people in various areas revealed that they were finding high school graduates who could not read.

Correa discussed ways in which elementary and middle schools could be strengthened so that they can prepare students for the high schools. She thinks teachers must be well qualified, and children need to learn early what school is about, what kinds of careers will be available. They must be introduced to more live situations and must be told how valuable they are.

Correa believes schools should stay open later and each should have a library in which students can work. There should also be "hobby shops," workshops in which students and members of the community can work. Career education which unites business and education is also very important, she concluded.

George Wallace, publisher in the Webster Division of McGraw-Hill Book Company, was unable to participate in this session as planned. However, his prepared remarks are summarized here.

George F. Wallace, Publisher, Webster Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York City

> *"It is . . . fair to say that the business world looks to the schools for pretty much the same performance that parents look for in public schools. Business needs disciplined, creative, educated citizens who can function well in society."*

George Wallace talked about the schools from three perspectives—as a parent, as a business executive and "as a partner with the urban public schools bearing responsibility for their performance."

Wallace reported that an informal survey of several friends and colleagues indicated that they wanted, first, that schools be "safe places for their children to learn." He cited, too, a 1978 Gallup Poll of public attitudes towards education which revealed that 25 percent of the adult population polled considered lack of discipline the number one problem in the public schools. He noted other values parents seek from the schools are that their children become literate; many want their children to be able to go to college; they want them to be able to get good jobs.

Wallace referred to a 1975 Department of the Census study that found that "dissatisfaction with schools was more significant than dissatisfaction with any other municipal service in determining whether people would move their homes." He also noted that the 1978 Gallup Poll found that only 9 percent of those questioned gave the schools an A rating in 1978 as compared to 18 percent who gave schools an A rating in 1974. "The flight of middle class people from the large cities to the suburbs may in part be a result of middle class attitudes toward urban public schools. When people are unhappy with their schools they move away. When people become happy with urban public schools they may begin moving back to the cities with their families," Wallace said.

As an employer, Wallace's company needs and uses many skills and abilities, and expects public schools to provide certain fundamental ones, as well as certain human relations skills. He went on to comment on his work as an educational publisher. McGraw-Hill creates textbooks, tests, film strips, workbooks and other educational materials. The company also publishes teachers' editions to help teachers use its texts, offers in-service workshops to help train teachers to use materials; sponsors professional workshops in cooperation with universities; and field-tests its new materials in actual classroom situations. Wallace also stated that McGraw-Hill had been a leader in constructing guidelines for representation of minorities and women in its texts.

Discussion

Two members of the audience took issue with the use of tests to screen out, in the one instance, job applicants and in the other (with minimum competency testing) some high school seniors who might otherwise graduate.

Correa answered that on the basis of talks with students who have taken the Western Electric tests, and with personnel staff, she believed the tests were fair.

Boyd added, "One of the things business has to ask of education is: Tell the truth to us about what you can and can't do with the people you have responsibility for over a set number of years; tell the truth about what you expect society to look like X years out; and tell the truth about what else we can do via an economic model of human growth and development because we need alternatives."

A participant described Dade Partners, a program in Miami in Dade County, initiated by the superintendent of schools and the Chamber of Commerce. It successfully brings industry, business, and labor together in the schools.

Correa was asked what Western Electric is doing to change the present situation to make it possible for more applicants to pass the entry tests. Her answer was that supervisors are giving more training to these applicants.

Boyd responded that his bank in New York City works with fifteen organizations which specialize in placing hard-to-find employees. But, he added, "There aren't that many jobs, period. . . . And if we worked with all 125 or 130 organizations [that specialize in placement of hard-to-place applicants], we would exacerbate the frustration level of about 80 percent of their clients."

A participant commented on the high attrition rate in some of the cooperative programs between business and the schools. But if students know a job is waiting, he said, they have a better chance of staying in the program.

Another participant talked of the constant contradictions between what the communities are told and what corporations do. Business knows where expansion and growth are coming. Why can't that information be passed on to the schools in terms of the jobs that will be available?

Session 5

"Defining the Roles of Public Education: What Does Labor Want from Our Schools?"

Robert Porter, Secretary/Treasurer, Department of Professional Employees, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C.

"In the attack on the public schools I think sometimes we forget that in most situations we are doing a reasonably good job. Maybe Johnny can't read as well as he ought to, but he is probably reading better than Johnny was twenty years ago."

Labor wants what all good parents want for their children, Robert Porter asserted—a good education in the basics without neglecting music, the arts or career education. He thinks students should also have to learn about American government and how to function in it. Despite all the criticism of public education, Porter thinks Johnny is probably reading better than he did twenty years ago. Some critics say that education in England, France or Germany (as the case may be) is superior. But 78 percent of the youth in the United States graduate from high school while only 28 percent of youth in England graduate. So, Porter added, when education here is compared to education in England or other countries, most of our students are being compared to a very select group.

Walter G. Davis, Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

"Our people are beginning to feel that their kids are better off with more, rather than less, education if there is going to be increased competition for the dwindling number of jobs. We may be talking about lowering our standard of living in order to accommodate a future situation. I think that means we must develop coping skills."

Walter Davis commented that some of the arguments for a separate Department of Education are specious. The separate department would not necessarily get more funding than the present Office of Education. The fact that there was a separate cabinet member for education would not mean much if the president were not "tuned into education." Nor could any of the supporters of a separate department assure anyone that something better would happen in the classrooms. He made the point that the various departments would not easily give up their education or other related components to a new department of education. These include the school food program from the Department of Agriculture, Indian education from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, science education programs from the National Science Foundation, Headstart from HEW, and CETA programs from the Department of Labor.

Davis also spoke about the technological revolution that has taken place in the United States. He cited one invention that can fit on a television set and receive letters written from anywhere in the country. "Then what happens to 325,000 letter carriers?" he asked. If too many young people and increasing numbers of women are entering the labor force each year, there will be a constant high rate of unemployment.

"Down the road, our people are getting the feel that their kids are better off with more education than with less education, if there is going to be high competition for jobs, whatever jobs are left. One possibility is that we might be talking about lowering our standard of living in order to accommodate a future situation. That means that coping skills need to be developed, it seems to me," Davis said. Occupational forecasting is difficult because companies, fearful of competition, will not tell what new skills are needed until they are in the process of marketing new products, according to Davis.

Porter warned of the danger of blaming unemployment on a lack of education. Government planning or a lack of government action may be responsible. Education should not be designed solely to help people get jobs. We need to teach children how to function in our democratic system.

Davis mentioned the importance of tuition refund benefits that unions are now negotiating with their employers. All the auto companies now provide up to $900 a year in tuition benefits, but only about 2 percent of the workers are using it.

Participant Claude Kinard inquired about labor's position on a separate Department of Education.

Porter responded that the American Federation of Teachers and the AFL-CIO oppose a separate Department of Education. Their opposition grows out of the belief that "education should not be segregated from other important elements of government or of our society."

Davis discussed the "More Effective Schools Program" in New York City in response to a question from Kinard about how students who are not going on to college are prepared for a life of work. Twenty-three schools were involved in what Davis called a very good program, but a shortage of funds resulted in its elimination. Funding for career education has also been cut just when "business, industry and labor are beginning to coalesce around the country and do some real exciting things."

Porter cautioned that there are dangers in career education because it seems likely that most people will change jobs several times in their lives. So one danger is trapping people too early. "Another major point is that people who are concentrating on career education are really talking about less education rather than more education," he said. Releasing students for part-time jobs that may be dead-end jobs may not be good, especially if it means a decrease in education in the basics. "The world of work needs to be concerned with the professions and the technical and clerical, as well as blue collar jobs," Porter said.

Participant Sandy Robinson reported on a study of the transferability of job skills now underway at the National Institute of Education. She also said that students can acquire the basic skills by the time they reach eighth grade. Some students "physically cannot take being in a structured school program for six or seven hours a day; and they might, in terms of their whole psychological makeup, be better off going into a job."

Participant Renee Montoya asked about labor's attitude toward minimum competency testing.

Porter commented: "Labor is rather apprehensive of the minimum competency laws. The laws exist in around sixteen states. We do not feel they are really enforced in any of them. The newest one that you hear a lot about, I suppose, is Florida. Part of the problem with competency testing is that it raises the question of teaching the test. . . . I am not giving you a direct answer and I don't really feel that any of those that are advocating minimum competency laws and that they be strictly adhered to, have any answers either."

Montoya added that some observers believe that the whole reason for minimum competency testing is to keep cheap labor available. It is likely that students who are given "Certificates of Attendance" rather than diplomas, because they did not pass the minimum competency test, will not be hired. She asked if labor is actively opposing the minimum competency movement.

Porter replied that the AFT has opposed specific laws as in Florida. Most teachers are opposed to minimum competency testing, but he termed it "a double-edged sword." "We can't be caught in the argument that children should not read and write because we don't believe that either." He suggested that perhaps the answer is to set out goals and try to meet them.

Davis spoke of outreach programs the unions run for apprenticeship in the building trades and mentioned that often much time has to be spent to bring trainees up to the entry level for the programs. "It is important because when you are around heavy equipment, there is an occupational safety problem. If someone cannot read a button and touches it, you have a serious problem."

Alice Carter, Director of the Pittsburgh Urban League, raised the point from the floor that labor's national leaders endorse the League's goals at national meetings, but at the local level there is often little cooperation. When Pittsburgh and Cincinnati faced the problem of desegregating their schools, "Labor wanted no part of the planning, and when the law came down, labor was the group that resisted the most and raised the most hell," she said.

Davis acknowledged some of the difficulties of getting labor cooperation on the local level, but he believes a coalition has to be developed, including labor. The labor movement "opened up all of the hotels in the South," he said. "But, if you are going to say that all union members are going to be born-again Christians . . . then I will say that I am not sure the Urban League or the NAACP or the others are born-again Christians on every issue."

Porter suggested that instead of simply inviting a labor representative to a meeting, it might help to visit a number of people individually in advance, tell them the problem and ask them to send someone with clout to the meeting.

Session 6

"Defining the Roles of Public Education: What Does Government Want from Our Schools?"

John White, Member, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, Harrisburg

"In response to the question of what do we want from our schools from the government perspective, I believe it is more with less. We say to school districts like Philadelphia, for example, 'Develop a comprehensive school desegregation plan, but

we contribute no dollars to desegregation.'"

John White said that he has been shocked that elected officials in his state "are very much in the dark in terms of what our goals and what our objectives ought to be as they relate to public education." This is true despite the fact that in Pennsylvania 47 of every 100 young people who entered high school in 1975 did not graduate. A fifth of the state's 505 school districts had a fiscal deficit in 1977-1978. There is also a rapid decline in financial support to public education.

So government wants more for less, White believes, and he gave as an example the fact Philadelphia schools were asked to develop a comprehensive school desegregation plan with no funds for implementation. White stated that school districts are supposed to provide free transportation for private and parochial school children but are not reimbursed sufficiently to cover the cost. Philadelphia, he said, is faced with the problem of $180 million in state-mandated educational programs although the state contributes only $100 million to the accomplishment of these programs.

As taxpayers, White continued, we must demand accountability of the school system but we must also demand that elected officials provide the funds to cover necessary programs. Ways must be found to increase and encourage greater participation in the schools by parents of public school children.

Joanne Goldsmith, Member, Maryland State Board of Education, Baltimore

"Those of us who are involved in education have a vested interest in improving education, and I think we can do it. I know that the schools are not working, but I also know that if our schools don't work, our cities don't work. . . . And all we need to change that is the vision to make it happen."

Joanne Goldsmith spoke of the need for vision to make the cities work. They are not working, she feels, because the education system has failed. She described Project Basic, a competency-based educational program which includes five goals. These are: (1) basic education (reading, writing and arithmetic); (2) survival skills; (3) leisure activity; (4) citizenship; (5) knowledge of the world of work. Twenty-thousand questionnaires were sent out to people in Maryland concerned with education. They were asked to define competency. The competency programs are now being field-tested in the ninth grade, and this class is the first that must pass them before they graduate in 1982. Goldsmith explained that remediation is built into the program and there is no time frame for passing the tests. It has nothing to do with credits; a student may have all the credits necessary for graduation but cannot graduate without passing the competency-based program.

As a member of the state board of education, she stated that the public image of education is one of the most serious problems the board faces. During the debate on the tuition tax credit issue in Congress, there were many attacks on public education. "But," Goldsmith said, "I believe it was wrong. I don't believe that we should, in fact, allow a raid on the public treasury to support nonpublic schools. I do not believe our public schools should become a haven for the poor and for the handicapped."

"We don't need any more research, we really don't need any more studies. . . . We don't need any more excuses, we know what we have to do for our children," she continued. We must tell the federal government that there must be no more mandated programs without the necessary funds for them, Goldsmith believes.

She proposed that the training aspect of CETA include funding for career assessments and vocational assessments. "We can train people for jobs if we would stop fighting about the Department of Labor turf," Goldsmith concluded.

Grover L. McCrea, Jr., Commissioner, Board of School Commissioners, Baltimore City Public Schools

> *"I think it's just a matter of time before the educational system within the city is going to become the acceptable mode, because the problem you're facing when you talk about public education is not that public education is not working but that people equate upward mobility with private schools."*

Grover McCrea referred to a number of ways that Baltimore differs in its approach to education from Philadelphia and some other cities: the school board is appointed by the mayor; the mayor is a product of the public school system; the superintendent of schools is a member of the mayor's cabinet, so education is represented when other agencies are making decisions about the city. The superintendent has been encouraged to be involved more in public relations.

McCrea reported that the Greater Baltimore Committee is in the process of restoring the city, and that restoration will not take place unless education is considered. Business will not move into a city if the education system is not working, he asserted.

McCrea noted that last year, for the first time, some teachers in Baltimore who had tenure were fired. There are many in the school system still who have been teaching for a long time. Formerly, they threatened to go into the county schools if they were questioned on their work. Now the situation has shifted since enrollment is down in the counties, "so people who formerly would leave the system are not leaving and are locked in. This means that you are going to have to lean on the principals and the administrators for documentation to get rid of some inefficient people."

In Baltimore, McCrea said, people are moving back into the city. He commented on the irony that when houses were built in the suburbs "all of a sudden crime went up" in the city. Now the reverse is true: crime is reported to be up in the county, McCrea stated.

> *So what you're talking about is a game and if you don't understand it, then you are going to get caught and think that people are serious about education. Education has nothing to do with it. You're talking about a tremendously large industry that has decided that it's cheaper to restore homes in the city than it is to get caught out in the county where they're fighting water, sewage, and a lot of other things that people in the county went out there to avoid in the first place.*

McCrea sees this as a black middle class problem as well as a white middle class one. Again, he said, this has nothing to do with education. "It is tied in with business and government, because if business hires those youngsters coming out of private schools and the colleges find them more acceptable, then it is very difficult for us in public education to compete with that."

McCrea also expressed the belief that "our [black] students are suffering from adult hypocrisy." Although adults knew that "we had to know twice as much as, and to be better than" others, they led their children to believe that "you don't have to know a lot because the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will see you through."

McCrea concluded by saying: "People support what they think is worthwhile, so what we're trying to do is to create a worthwhile school system so that we do not have to go back into city council to ask their support."

Discussion

Sheila Mitchell asked about school board members being appointed by the mayor in Philadelphia.

White explained that of the 505 school districts in Pennsylvania, only Philadelphia has an appointed school board. In that city, a panel of six or seven citizens selected by the mayor submits a list of possible board members, three individuals for each board vacancy. The mayor then can choose one of the three for each opening or can return the list to the panel and request additional names. The city council is not required to confirm the names. White stated that the majority of voters in Philadelphia are Catholic, and the parochial school system there is one of the largest in the country. He added " . . . as a black person, I am not yet convinced that we should be growing in the direction of an elected school board." White also pointed out that there are eight sub-districts in Philadelphia, and the way the boundaries are drawn, it is unlikely that many blacks would be elected if elections were held on a district basis.

Benny Andrews asked whether government wants anything from the schools beyond the points already mentioned: competency, improved business attitudes and actions, and a cooperative spirit.

White responded that as an elected official he would want some check on the quality of education children receive, although quality education has not really been defined. As society grows and funding for education becomes more difficult, government also expects greater fiscal accountability, he continued. White noted that as Pennsylvania "would like to absolve itself from the funding of public education," increasingly the local school districts will bear more of the financial burden of the public schools. There is great disparity in the proportions of funds school districts receive from the state—a range of 8 percent to 99 percent. Philadelphia receives 56 percent of its $600 million school budget from the state. White noted that,

> *"Every year, during the course of the debate over changes in the subsidy formula, . . . we find state legislators, we find state senators, we find governors, even the heads of various state education departments, saying: 'You have got to do more in the local community about raising taxes and raising the revenue that's going to adequately fund the public school system and don't come back to us until you do something on your own.'"*

Yet about four years ago, White reported, when there was a 29 percent increase in the city real estate tax, the city allotted only one million of that increase for public education. This was done despite the fact that for eleven years there has been the threat of early closing of Philadelphia schools due to lack of funds.

Discussion

Goldsmith stated that one problem of schools is that politicians have learned that they cannot be elected by supporting public education. "In the county in which I live," she said, "every single county executive or county commissioner who had stood for a tax increase based on the needs of education has been defeated." It is true that communities that are involved with their schools do pass bond issues to support them, according to Goldsmith.

White added that of the twenty-three incumbents who lost in the last general election in Pennsylvania, eighteen supported the Equal Rights Amendment, more money for public education, voted against the death penalty, and against the anti-abortion interests. He noted, too, that in Pennsylvania all school districts, except Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, have their budgets reviewed annually by the state Department of Education.

Clara Rutherford, a member of the Detroit board of education who had been elected city-wide, reported that Detroit has a majority black school board and a black superintendent.

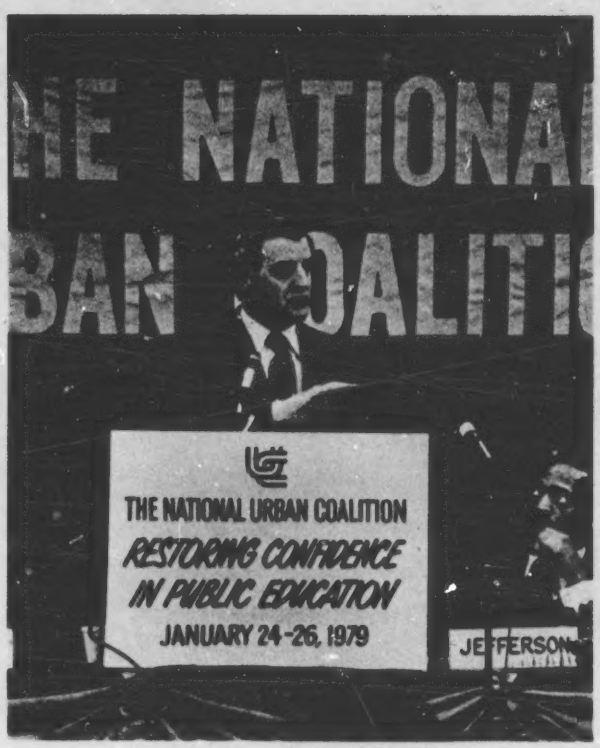
> *It's the perception of the public school system that determines whether or not it's going to be supported. In Detroit we refused to believe that schools are losing out; that schools are not training; that schools are not doing this or that. And when we talk about accountability, we talk about accountability on the part of the administrator as well as the teachers, as well as parents, as well as students.*

Shelly Weinstein, a participant from Maryland, differed with the speakers on several points. She thinks one of the problems in determining government's role in the schools is that the authority placed at different levels of government is sometimes inappropriate. The state board of education is an arm of the executive and the legislature and should have the responsibility for guaranteeing equal educational opportunity, of ensuring that the available money is being distributed equally, and of assuring civil rights and student rights. This is the area in which the federal government should also be active. But states cannot as effectively guarantee quality education, she said. She differed also on the question of appointed school boards, stating that the local school boards should be elected.

Second Plenary Session

January 25

Vice President Walter F. Mondale was the keynote speaker at the conference's second plenary session. He was introduced by M. Carl Holman, who presided at the session. Following Mondale's address, Detroit School Superintendent Arthur Jefferson assumed the role of moderator. Arthur Wise, Francis Chase and Lloyd Cooke then addressed the issue of improving the quality of public schools.



Walter F. Mondale, Vice President of the United States

> *"Ours is a society that says, 'If you are from a poor family, we will provide special programs to give you the extra help that you need. If you don't grow up in your family speaking English, we will provide special programs to teach you the language skills. If you have a physical or emotional handicap, we won't abandon you, and increasingly we will shape programs designed to deal with those handicaps. If you lack skills, we will train you. If you need libraries and laboratories, we will build them. If you can't afford to further your education after high school, we will help you out. And if you suffer the legacy of discrimination, we will affirm your right to opportunity.' "*

Mr. Mondale characterized American education as "perhaps the most ambitious social undertaking in the history of any society." It provides special programs for the poor, other programs to teach language skills to those for whom English is not the first language; it shapes programs for the handicapped; and gives financial help to those who can't afford college.

He told of the erosion of support for education during the eight years from 1968 to 1976, during three of which he was chairman of the Senate Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity. He cited, by contrast, the Carter Administration's support for education; the 1980 budget recently submitted to Congress represents a 60 percent increase in federal support to education compared to the last budget of the Nixon Administration. Among the requests to Congress for increases in spending for education were a 75 percent increase for bilingual education over the request of two years ago; a 50 percent increase for Head Start; a 70 percent increase in emergency school aid for desegregation in cities; a 50 percent increase for Title I; and an increase in aid for education of the handicapped more than double that of two years ago.

Funds are needed, Mondale said, to improve education, especially in the central cities and in the pockets of rural poverty where tax bases are low. In Pennsylvania it costs over 30 percent more to educate a child in Philadelphia than in the rest of the state. Mondale referred to a program which the Administration advocated and which was passed last year for a Title I program in the cities to concentrate special funds over and above the regular Title I funds for the educationally disadvantaged. He reported that federal aid to education for student assistance has been nearly doubled. There is also a new government-wide push to help black colleges. "For the first time in history, an administration has fully funded the federal programs for black colleges," Mondale noted.

The Vice President spoke then of the need for a Department of Education in the federal government and of the administration's efforts in support of setting up an independent department. "We are about the only Western society that doesn't have a Ministry or a Department of Education," he remarked. "Education, under the present structure, does not get the attention and the priority that it deserves in the crucial decision-making processes of the Federal government." Mondale stated his hope that the creation of a separate Department of Education would "finally correct the administrative structure so essential to education in our country."

"There is another element to good education," Mondale continued, "and that is jobs, good jobs. You can't motivate young people to try if they are convinced they will get nothing for trying." Our society is work-oriented, yet does not provide jobs for hundreds of thousands of young people, he noted. During the last two years the Administration has succeeded in adding over seven million new jobs, yet there are many youths—especially minority youths—who cannot find jobs. He noted that the first major Youth Employment Bill in history was aimed at reducing youth unemployment; the Job Corps has been doubled. Nearly four billion dollars are being spent on these and other programs like vocational education, the targeted employment tax credit, work study, and private sector initiatives. Youth is the Administration's highest priority.

Mondale emphasized the importance of local administrations finding good jobs for CETA workers and the need for cooperation from the schools, from private business, unions, and community groups.

Arthur E. Wise, Senior Social Scientist, The Rand Corporation

"Quality and Equality: The Regulation of Public Schools"

> *"Minimum competency testing's most pernicious effect, of course, is that unlike some of the other accountability models, it shifts the blame from the school to the child. In fact, one could imagine that it makes dropping out of high school look good compared to waiting around to be certified as incompetent. Pretty soon we will have three groups of twenty-year-olds around the country, those with the Grade A high school diploma, those with the Grade B school completion certificate, and high school dropouts."*

Arthur Wise stated that public schools are not generally worse than they used to be, but that the loss in confidence in them "is a rationalization for not spending more on the education of minorities and the poor." He believes that efforts of the courts, the federal government, and the states to improve educational quality, even when well motivated, have succeeded in retarding progress in desegregation and in school finance reform. Some of these policies, Wise noted, have resulted in unnecessary and undesirable centralization and further bureaucratization, and others have tended to shift the blame for the failure of education from the school to the student.

Wise asserted that although it is generally believed that test scores in the United States are declining, reading performance among nine-, thirteen-, and seventeen-year-olds between 1971 and 1975, remained stable or improved. Among young black students, the progress was "noteworthy." These are the findings of the National Assessment of Educational Progress reported by the National Center for Educational Statistics. He also cited a study in Indiana where a test administered to tenth grade students in 1944 was readministered in 1976. The average performance of students in 1976 was "far superior to the performance of students in 1944," although a higher percentage of tenth grade students were in school in 1976.

Wise pointed out also that the National Institute of Education looked at results on seventeen tests between the mid-'40s and '70s and found that for fully half of the tests there was stability or increase in performance scores. Although much has been made of the decline in Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT) scores, Wise reported that "two-thirds to three-quarters of the widely-cited SAT decline was due to changes in the population taking the test." More minority persons, women, and more white students of all ability levels were taking the tests.

Part of the blame for the fact that these hopeful signs are not known lies with the media—"Bad news makes better press than good news," Wise said. But he added that fiscal and social conservatives are seizing any shred of negative evidence to justify a decreasing investment in education. Wise called attention to the fact that some schools still outperform others and that federal and state governments have, for a good many years, attempted to improve local school systems. The governments have tried two kinds of policies: attempting to improve educational opportunity, on the one hand, and to improve educational quality, on the other.

Improving educational opportunity involves factors which can be measured; it involves the amount of money being invested and how much goes to different types of children, according to Wise. Educational quality is concerned with the effectiveness of the resources made available in achieving the objectives they are intended to achieve. In the past, these policies were often followed simultaneously but Wise suggests that, "as a strategy for the 1980s, we may wish to pursue these policies somewhat separately."

He compared the famous 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision with *Bolling v. Sharpe*, decided in the District of Columbia on the same day as *Brown*. He noted that two of the arguments in *Brown* were that "segregation of the races was inherently unequal, and that classifying students for the purpose of school assignment was inherently unconstitutional." The *Bolling v. Sharpe* decision, concerned with desegregation in Washington, stated simply: "Classifying students on the basis of race in this country is against the law."

The statement in *Bolling v. Sharpe*, Wise believes, was a better basis for desegregation decisions than the argument in *Brown* that segregation has a harmful effect on black children. He suggests that desegregation has moved more slowly than it might have because of this approach. Social scientists are still busy assessing the consequences of desegregation for black and white children when "that is not the issue at all. The issue is the quality of the educational opportunity that is made available to children," Wise observed.

He then discussed *Milliken v. Bradley*, the school desegregation case in Detroit, a complex case which not only called for the desegregation of Detroit schools but also established two new principles. One of these principles was that the court had the right to "dictate certain programmatic interventions in the city of Detroit." (These were a particular remedial education program, an in-service teacher training program, and a particular kind of guidance program.) The second new principle was that the Michigan State Board of Education was held responsible for the segregation of schools in Detroit. While state authorities may be technically responsible, Wise noted, "when you make state officials responsible for something, soon they are going to have to be quite active in assuring that their responsibilities are fulfilled."

He then traced briefly the history of school finance reform in equalizing educational expenditures. But that movement has often been diverted to taxpayer relief, and "much of the activity . . . which had as its core the goal of redistributing, or equalizing the amount of resources available to children, has been used instead to narrow the range of taxes paid by people in support of schools." Other court decisions concerned with school finance have been used to try to reform the schools, to improve the quality of education, Wise added.

He termed minimum competency testing the latest attempt by states to make schools accountable to the state. Its advocates believe that such a scheme will improve the quality of education. But these advocates "are the same conservative state legislatures who are sponsoring fiscal conservatism and fiscal limitation movements." Minimum competency testing "separates those who can from those who cannot pass the test. It does nothing new to help those students. . . . It has spread so rapidly because it looks like a quick fix for a difficult problem," Wise commented. Its most pernicious effect, he believes, is that it shifts the blame for failure from the school to the child.

He then discussed various elements of federal legislation which also confuse the goals of equal educational opportunity and of quality education. He asserted that we are increasing the bureaucratization of schools. This further dehumanizes the teacher, the school, and the children "because the kinds of management tools that you need in a very large system are different from the kinds . . . which you can use when there is a more intimate connection between parents, the school board, and the local schools."

He suggested dividing responsibilities for the schools among federal, state, and local governments. The federal government's responsibility, he proposed, would be for ensuring equal educational opportunity and for research and development to improve the quality of education. States would be accountable for equal educational opportunity in terms of school finance. At the local level, Wise concluded, the responsibility would be for improvements in educational quality, for changes that involve parents in the educational process and that involve teachers in the development of innovative approaches.

Francis S. Chase, Director, Urban Education Studies, Dallas Public Schools

"A New Era of Excellence in Urban Education: What Can Be Done to Realize It?"

> *"As I have gone into the city schools in the last two years, I have discovered fewer teachers, fewer administrators who say that the child's home conditions, or the child's background, or the child's attitudes are the causes of low achievement. Many more are looking to themselves to exercise the ingenuity to put achievement, and the possibility for full development of his capabilities, in the reach of every child, and that is beginning to work."*

Francis Chase began his talk by asking why the schools, after having absorbed the great tides of immigration from western Europe, and having dealt with the immigration from eastern Europe (although less successfully), "seemed unable to meet the challenge of the new immigrant." These came chiefly from rural areas—the poor from the rural South, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and other countries. Increasingly, Chase said, teachers and administrators are looking to themselves "to exercise the ingenuity to put achievement, and the possibility for full development of their capabilities in reach of all children." They are no longer blaming the child's home, background, or attitudes for her or his low achievement, he added.

Chase described a program in Norfolk, Virginia, called The Program for the Designated Gifted. The plan is to eventually enroll 10 percent of the school population in this program. Most important is

the fact that school people are finding that what works with the gifted works with most—perhaps all—children. He also discussed a number of alternative elementary schools in Columbus which are racially integrated. These schools demonstrate what a dedicated principal and staff can achieve working together. There was a competition to select the principals for these schools, and the principals could then choose teachers who wanted to be there. It is too early to know how successful these special schools will be, but parents are happy with these integrated schools which are giving their children an educational program they feel is good.

Chase then described two studies he is directing in city school districts. One deals with the use made of the knowledge developed through research and evaluation; the other with identification of highly successful programs and some of the factors that make for success. He told of a study in Atlanta and the way the schools there use research and evaluation. Every school has an evaluator, and in one middle school, the principal, representatives chosen by the teachers at every level in the school, and the coordinator of the middle school make up the evaluative team. As a result, the school team was receptive to the results of evaluation. "They were ready for the information provided to change the curriculum, to change the instruction, to change other procedures."

Chase commented that a lot of the emphasis on "back to the basics" in schools is misplaced. "Nobody has yet proved to my satisfaction that making a child sit at a desk for four hours a day and do something called reading is the best way to get the child to read. I think there is far more to it than that," he remarked.

He noted that student achievement gains in reading and math had occurred in several programs focusing on the arts. In the "Success with Strings" and "Learning Through Piano" programs in Dallas, Texas, "those children who were in these music programs excelled [in math and reading achievement] comparable groups that were not in the music program." Similar results have been observed at Milwaukee's Elm Creative Arts Elementary School. Chase recommended the Rockefeller Commission's report on the arts and education, titled *Coming to Our Senses*, because "it recognizes that people expressed themselves through drawing, rhythm and other means before they had a language, and that these forms of expression are important today to the development of the full human potential."

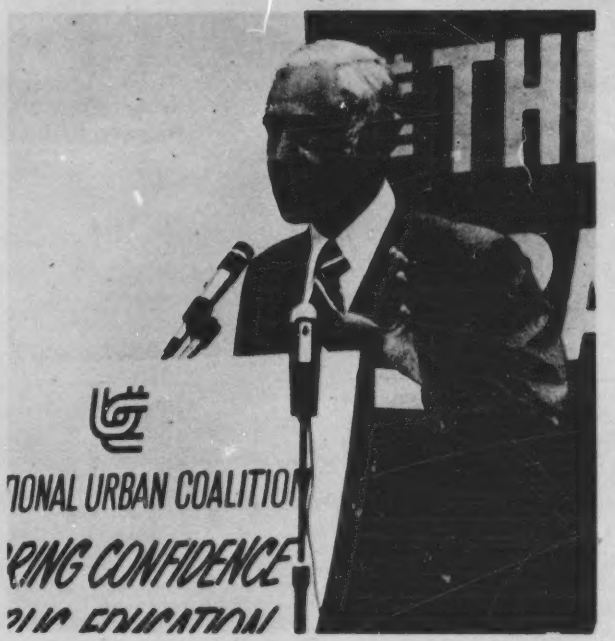
He pointed out also the encouraging fact that education is increasingly seen as a community-wide responsibility. In many schools there are various programs which seem to be working. "The signs of renewal and reinvigoration are increasing; and some are bold enough to hope that city schools may be heading toward a new era of excellence," Chase said.

Lloyd M. Cooke, Vice-Chairman, Economic Development Council of New York City, Inc.

"Searching Out the Best in Urban Education"

> *"One of the things we have learned in technology transfer, and in attempts to improve the effectiveness of transfer between our energy research and our real needs for energy utilization improvement and reduction in cost in this nation is that the people that do the work in the classroom are miles apart. There needs to be some sort of communication link, an intervention link, that helps to transfer that which is learned fundamentally, of great import, perhaps, into useful classroom or school techniques."*

There is a very real need for technology assessment and technology transfer in education, Cooke believes, but the people who do the



research and those in the classroom are great distances apart. "It is imperative that people in organized fashion identify, describe, and analyze [successful education approaches] in terms of their potential and the factors that relate to replication or extension system-wide," he noted.

"There are thousands of youth graduated from high school or dropped out of high school, who are unqualified for entry-level jobs," Cooke said. Fewer jobs are available for youth of sixteen years and up than formerly, and a larger percentage of available jobs require computational, communication, and problem-solving skills, he added.

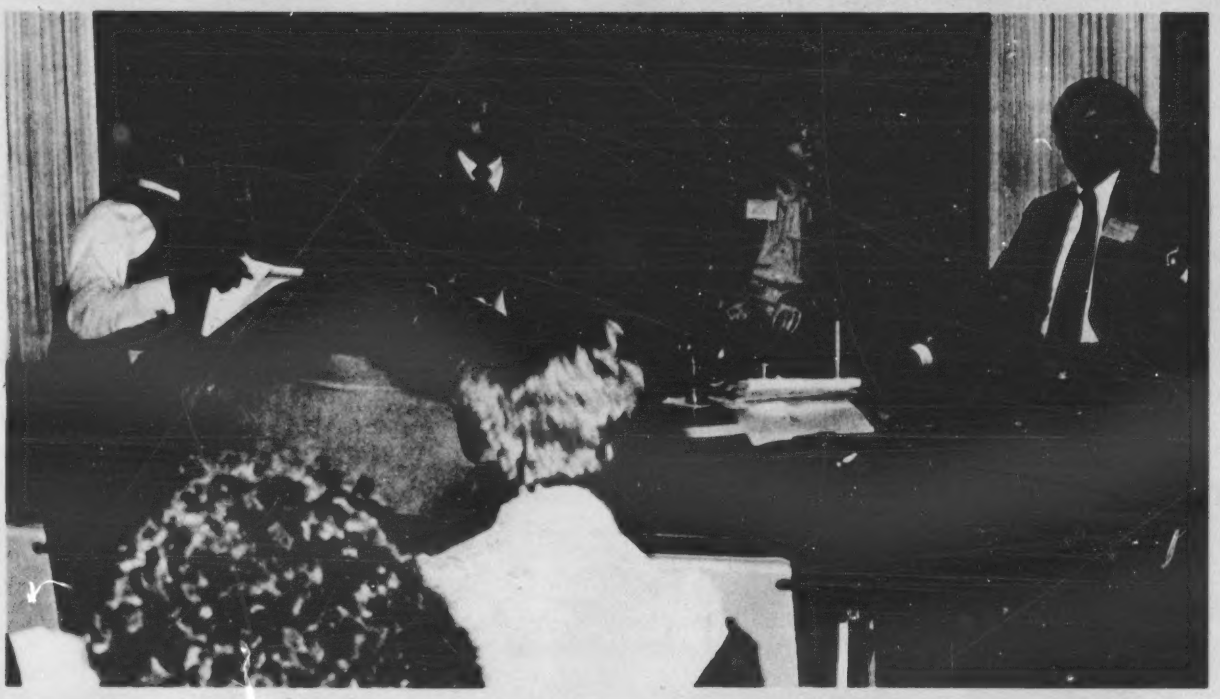
The Economic Development Council of which Cooke is Vice Chairman "is made up of chief executives of major corporations who are in this because they are convinced that the quality of education of all of our citizens is an absolutely essential part of social and economic progress in this nation." Cooke told of his work with the New York City school system and of offering to help the board of education identify those classrooms that are doing an especially good job with underachievers or slow learners. "School Renewal," a program in operation involving the board of education, the chancellor's office and the business community, led to a program in thirty schools to help personnel in those schools employ business management tools to resolve problems.

He spoke of the importance of teacher expectations, of the realization that poor learners were often simply slow learners, and the importance of some aspects of Benjamin Bloom's Mastery Learning. He described the work of one of Bloom's students who, consulting with Bloom, worked out a biology course in a community college that has incremental components and diagnostic tests to measure how much the student has learned. More recent research by Blooms has determined that, given a proper learning environment, a slow learner can develop into an average learner and can even become a fast learner. Cooke suggested that we need to understand how individual students acquire knowledge, and that educators should focus on that part of the learning process which enables slow learners to become faster learners.

One critical aspect of that process is that for learning to occur, there has to be a reason for the individual to want to learn. The "Environmental and Learning Readiness" program in New York City uses this premise to enable those students who are behind "to have a positive view of the need for acquiring more knowledge, and to use the systems that are available to get it."

Participants at the seven concurrent sessions on Thursday afternoon discussed topics ranging from the roles and attitudes of the private sector in public education, to minimum competency testing and the Back to the Basics Movement, to equal educational opportunity.

Concurrent Sessions Afternoon January 25 Session 1



"Roles and Opportunities for the Private Sector in Public Education"

Madeline R. Walter, Executive Director, Council on Education, Kansas City, Missouri

Madeline Walker described the origin of the Council on Education, a nonprofit organization formed to enhance the availability and delivery of quality education in the greater Kansas City area. It began five years ago when the chief operating officers of the 100 largest employers in the community [an organization called the Civic Council] decided to become more involved in the problems facing the Kansas City area. They asked Midwest Research in Kansas City to "identify the most pressing problems" facing the city, especially those which the Civic Council could help solve. Education was identified as one of the problems and the Council on Education was the result. There are no school representatives on the board because "it's impossible to maintain third party status if you get people with first party oars in your boat," Walter said.

Ken Vallis, Deputy Director, Youthwork, Inc., Washington, D.C.

> *"One of the things that we must keep in mind is that this [Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act] is really short-term legislation, and there are certain difficulties about what can be learned, what can be documented, what can be analyzed, what can be spoken to, and then who will remain as an audience."*

Ken Vallis spoke of the beginnings of Youthwork, Inc., funded by five foundations a year ago to "explore a new avenue of public-private cooperation." It serves "as a kind of buffer, or if not a buffer, an alternative to federal administration of grants under CETA," Vallis said. He explained that Youthwork is a vehicle through which potential grantees, CETA prime sponsors, can be evaluated on programs. The focus is on in-school programs for fourteen- to sixteen-year-olds. In addition to serving as a buffer, Youthwork is an alternative vehicle for the administration of grants through which information can be gathered. Knowledge development is the primary function provided for by YEDPA (Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act) legislation—to determine ways of improving the relationship between the public schools, the prime sponsors and community-based organizations.

Vallis pointed out that since YEDPA legislation is short-term legislation, there are some difficulties in documenting and analyzing findings. Dissemination is another goal of the legislation, so Youthwork is involved in developing means by which there can be a broader base of understanding by reaching a larger audience. Youthwork is administering $16 million in grants, money funded by the Department of Labor, not to Youthwork but at its recommendation. The grants are in four areas: career information, academic credit for work experience, expanded private sector involvement in providing direct work experience for youth in the program, and opportunities created by youth-initiated efforts. Youthwork's next programs, Vallis reported, will focus on the hardcore unemployed and the

handicapped, since both groups are underserved by in-school programs. Approximately $9 million in grants will be available for this effort.

Joseph L. DeChurch, Associate Superintendent, Bureau of Educational Programs, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida

> *"Surprisingly enough, there are a lot of teachers out there who are not certified by the state of Florida. They are people in business, and in labor, and in industry, who are coming into the schools and working with our children."*

Joseph DeChurch described Dade County (Miami, Florida) as the fifth largest school system in the United States, serving approximately 230,000 children. Its budget is about $553 million. The community is served by 253 school centers. Dade County is tri-ethnic:

> *Tri-ethnic meaning that we have a tremendous Hispanic population and it's increasing on a daily basis with the freedom flights and political prisoners coming in from Cuba. We have a great Haitian influx into Dade County along with the black population which has been there for years. The majority of youngsters in the school system are what we call minority. Over 52 percent of our school system is made up of minorities, and 48 percent of what we call "others."*

When the new superintendent of schools took over about eighteen months ago, DeChurch continued, he and his senior staff agreed that their primary goal was to make urban education successful in Dade County. It was decided then that community help was needed, and the concept of Dade Partners [schools and community] was developed. DeChurch stated further that, as in other communities, the general public has lost confidence in public education, and business began to demonstrate an interest only when it began to be negatively affected by what was happening in the schools. The superintendent tried to identify the power brokers in Dade County, to communicate with them, and to seek their help. The superintendent met with newspaper publishers to talk to them about the negative images of the school they were projecting.

Business leaders began to understand that "what was happening in the public schools was negatively affecting what was happening in their businesses. When they saw that, they began to feel, 'Yes, we need more involvement with public education,' " DeChurch said. Now at Dade Partners, three staff people are swamped with requests from business and industry wanting to volunteer services to the schools. Now people from business, labor and industry come into the schools and work with the children. They're doing an excellent job even though they are not certified teachers, DeChurch reported.

Harold R. Sims, Vice President, Corporate Affairs, Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, New Jersey

> *"We made the shocking discovery that the greatest influence on the communication of knowledge in the world today as we know it is the private enterprise system—not governments, not even school systems, not even universities. . . ."*

Harold Sims discussed the role of the urban affairs expert on corporate staffs. People in the community "perceive the urban affairs person to be a person who allocates resources to that community," Sims said, "while the corporation perceives this person to be a way of getting black tokens or female tokens or keeping the community quiet." Actually, Sims contended, the urban affairs specialist is there to "improve the interaction between the corporation and the community."

> *So, instead of the community trying to reinforce this person, he or she was undermined, bypassed, ignored. Instead of the corporation trying to reinforce this person, this person was perceived as being unrelated to the bottom line, doing the role the government ought to perform, and yet corporations did not realize that the greatest cost to business is risk cost, escalating taxation caused by increasing crime, dysfunction of people, poor employees caused by crummy education. The whole thing was dragging profits down and keeping people from purchasing stocks due to the lack of control over the very environment the corporation perceived it should get involved in.*

Sims defined a corporation as "a way of organizing economic activity for human results and services, a way of meeting human needs—a social system." People come to corporations for the least important things—to seek a contribution or to get a job—because they have a misconception of corporations.

> *But you could get a thousand times the actual value if you'd go to the corporation and ask them for the things they do best—the human skills they have and a way of involving those skills in your institution. . . .*

He told of a conference at Leesburg, Virginia, where it came as a surprise that "the greatest influence on the communication of knowledge in the world today as we know it is the private enterprise system—not governments, not even school systems, not even universities. It's how the private sector uses its research, and how it gets involved in funding this, or funding that, directly or indirectly; how it lobbies with government."

Sims then listed the types of programs various corporations have initiated in the schools:

> *Johnson & Johnson adopted a school in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and has begun a health education program.*
>
> *Sun Oil has launched a broad tutorial program in Philadelphia offering a wide range of skills.*
>
> *Business in Philadelphia organized the Philadelphia Business Academy which prepares students for employment beginning at tenth grade.*
>
> *In Philadelphia, corporations that employ engineers have a program called Prime designed to bring more minorities into engineering.*
>
> *Babcock and Wilson has developed a program of economic education working with school boards in small cities.*
>
> *Connecticut General has chairs in accounting in black colleges and is developing a program in accounting in high schools.*
>
> *New York Life has a program to broaden career education for children.*
>
> *The Advertising Council offers a program on economic communication.*
>
> *Control Data, in cooperation with the Minnesota Department of Education, has adopted a language arts curriculum for delivery to junior high schools.*

Discussion

Several questions were asked about cooperation from business: Do those who come into the schools get released time from their companies? Does the business/schools cooperation require any change in regulations or legislation? Were there problems connected with persons teaching without certification?

DeChurch responded that the Dade County schools had asked for skills, not money. Since the school system is big business, he explained, many of the skills businessmen had were needed. They do work on released time. On the question of certification, he answered that since business offered its help on a volunteer basis there was no problem.

Walter added that in Missouri no changes in regulations or legislation were necessary for cooperation between schools and business.

DeChurch was asked about labor union participation. He stated that the labor unions are very much involved with public education, perhaps partly because Dade County has a large teachers' union. He went on to say that union facilities are being used for field experiences for students. The schools make it clear to business and labor that they are not simply concerned for students in vocational education. As an example, DeChurch told of visiting a computer center which was using new techniques and asking the staff there to come into the schools and "design a curriculum based on what their needs are. . . . "

Vallis was asked how his organization gets the ear of the CETA prime sponsor.

He answered, "A part of what we have been focusing on is very frankly brokering between the two of them [prime sponsor and a community-based operation] and helping them to understand that it is in their best interest to work together because they have skills, interests, capabilities between them that aren't really being shared."

A participant asked if Youthwork "considered assisting community-based organizations help school dropouts and prepare them for the working world?"

Vallis responded that Youthwork is concentrating on in-school programs now, but plans to develop projects with "kids who are either on the edge of being out or are actually out of school."

Walter added that the Council on Education is working with the university and the Junior League in Kansas City, Missouri, on a program in career education from the fourth grade up. The Junior League is providing $90,000 in funding. The program incorporates community work opportunities in the curriculum. Teachers have special training at the Teacher Resource Center in how to educate the children to the fact that learning to read is necessary in all occupations. The program, hopefully, addresses the dropout problem before it happens, Walter explained.

Several participants emphasized that the important aspect of all these projects is that youth can see that a "job is there." One said:

> *I hear a lot of talk about industry's role with respect to curriculum development, and I think that's vital for private support of educational programs. But what I don't hear is anyone addressing the critical problem that you're preparing a generation of students, well trained, for either entry level or management level positions that do not exist. And the present labor force is being strained, in terms of job opportunities, to absorb the currently employable population.*

Walter pointed out the other side of the coin—that in Kansas City there are 2,500 job slots in secretarial skills available annually, but only about 200 qualified students are being trained in the schools each year for this type of work.

Sims commented that the topic is a very complicated one. He told of attending career education days at various junior colleges in New Jersey:

> *So we go there and everyone is into social service, or they're into curriculum-related, or some kind of public service or nonprofit job. Everybody wants to serve "my people." They don't understand that you can also serve your people by being able to earn some money and run a corporation, create some jobs, and get some power.*

Sims was asked: "What is your corporation doing to make its abilities known to the community to help restore public confidence in the schools?"

He answered that Johnson & Johnson had just pledged to work with the school district on public relations. "I will work with a public relations firm and the public relations officer of Hallmark Cards. We will put together a package of the good things going on in the school district that will begin to help restore confidence in it because only the bad things seem to get in the media. In addition to this public relations program and the health education project, the company is also planning to use its resource of educated people to improve the basic skills of children in reading, math, and science.

A participant wanted to know if, in Dade County, the schools enlisted the support of corporations that supply educational products and services to the schools.

DeChurch responded that the corporations that do business with the school system are involved because "they're also a part of the community."

Another participant asked DeChurch how he would suggest working with a school district that doesn't want community involvement.

DeChurch's answer was: "It has to start with your leadership, . . . with the superintendent and the board members."

He was then asked about getting help in the partnership when the school system itself had been operating inefficiently.

DeChurch related what happened when the school system tried to close schools. Last year, he said, they had a committee of ninety-three people to advise on school closings, but the result was chaos. This year thirteen people from finance, management, the news media, and corporate management were chosen to come in and monitor the process of selecting schools to be closed.

A discussion followed on how school systems can terminate teachers who are ineffective.

DeChurch told of his system's sitting down with corporate people, looking at how they terminate employees. Dade County has terminated thirty-eight teachers who had seniority of eight to twenty-five years. They also fired a principal and moved thirty-seven administrators.

A participant described a program called Street Bankers that was initiated about eight years ago in New York City, Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester County. Street Bankers are "minimum training branch officers, lending officers who don't work in the bank, who work in the neighborhood seeking out community programs, community businesses, community school partnerships. Last year they worked with about 2,000 organizations." The result was more intelligent lending, more targeted contributions, and communication between community organizations and business.

"How can a community-based organization force involvement by a corporation?" a participant asked.

Another participant commented that in trying to bring together three groups who have traditionally not worked together—the community, the educational system, and the corporation—often a facilitator is needed. Any of the three entities might be a facilitator for a time, or they can "create external mechanisms that can serve as facilitators for a given time." As the coalition becomes stronger, the role of facilitator becomes obsolete.

Sims suggested three ways to force corporate involvement: (1) buy two shares of stock, then submit a resolution annually, raising the question of involvement, and have a well-informed stockholder show up and "loudly raise questions." (2) find the urban affairs person and hold that person accountable; (3) tell them—especially if the corporation is consumer-based—

> *"We spend our bread and buy your product and we expect you to be sensitive to how you spend your money to improve the quality of our life so we can buy more of your product." You don't have to mobilize. You can just raise these concerns. You don't have to threaten a boycott.*

Sims made the final point that corporate middle managers must also be involved with the community if cooperation is to come about because the message doesn't trickle down from top management and the board.

Session 2

"Is Anybody Out There Learning? An Affirmative Reply."

Davis Campbell, Deputy Superintendent, of Public Instruction Programs, California State Department of Education, Sacramento

> *". . . If you start building an educational program based on the assumption that the student is the most important person on the campus, you get to a different place than if you start worrying about class size, teachers' rights or superintendent's rights or board member rights, or county instructional curriculum leader's rights, or anything other than the students' rights, concerns or problems."*

Davis Campbell spoke of some of the programs in California that have been undertaken to improve education. One is the Title I program for the disadvantaged, a national program, and one into which California "poured an equal amount of state money." The state has also supported bilingual programs.

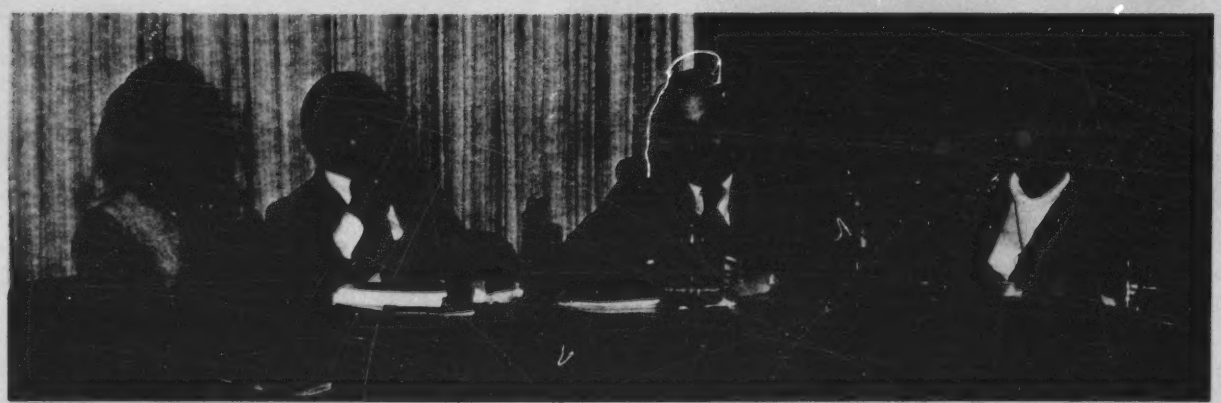
Campbell then turned to the rhetoric about public schools and asked: "Are the schools as terrible as the critics say? Are they as good as some people would like to believe?" He said there is a tendency to dwell on the many problems in public education and not on the solutions. He believes that models of successful and innovative programs are not being used enough in the schools.

> *Simply funding a pilot project and placing it in a school is something that does not work. . . . We know that from the research now. I think that a lot of us have really known that for a long time.*
>
> *You cannot simply take a program that is working somewhere else and assume that it is going to work in a different or even a similar environment. The basic ingredient of the program is the people who are involved in it.*

Campbell then listed several important characteristics that should be present in a school district if good things are to happen for the children and the school:

1. A school must focus its entire program on the needs of the students.
2. All the resources at a given school must be enlisted in support of solutions to educational programs. There must be an alliance among students, parents, teachers, administrators, and all others involved in the school.
3. Once the school has brought everyone together and has taken a "realistic" look at its problems, it must seek the help of professionals. The district, the state, and the county must be devoted to assisting the classroom learning process. There has to be fiscal support.
4. There must be some sense of accountability. "It is very helpful for outside people to visit a school, talk to the people at the school about what they are doing, and use some sense of measurement about the success or failure of their program." Campbell recommended a decentralized system of program development. He does not believe it is the role of the state to provide instructional models.

He reported that in California, test scores in the elementary schools funded through the school improvement program are going up at a rate greater than the normal upward trend in the primary grades. In these schools, alliances are being formed through school site councils between parents and teachers in community-based programs. "The parents . . . came in and they helped. They became the most strident defenders of those local schools of anybody. This is because they became involved partners. It worked."



Gwendolyn Fortune, Student, Del Campo High School, Carmichael, California

> *"Another area where there is room for improvement is multicultural education. In order to get along with people on a day-to-day basis, it is useful to know something about their cultural background and their religious sensitivities."*

Gwendolyn Fortune gave a number of reasons why she is learning in school: the support of her grandparents and parents, all of whom are active or retired educators; help from teachers after school when she needs it; the two or three hours she spends each day in after-school study; peer pressure, her friends and other classmates stimulate her to work hard; above all, she likes school.

There is positive evidence that students are learning at her school, Fortune stated. There is evidence in the wide involvement in student activities, many of which require a "C" or higher average for participation. Moreover, students in Fortune's school district (the San Juan Unified School District) scored higher than the national average in verbal and mathematical skills. Graduates of her high school had higher grade point averages as college freshmen than graduates of other public and private high schools in Sacramento County.

Fortune recommended ways in which improvement could be made—even in her school: more internship programs and more attention to multicultural education were among the approaches she suggested.

John Mills Holloway, Student, J. O. Sanderson High School, Raleigh, North Carolina

> *"In spite of the criticism that American public education has received in the past, as in recent years, it is probably the most unique system of education in the world. . . . It adheres to the philosophy that education and learning are the right of every citizen."*

John Holloway began by saying that he believes there are millions in the schools who are learning. He praised the North Carolina testing program and Governor Hunt's efforts in making the North Carolina educational program a model one. All students are now required to pass a competency test before they can graduate. He supports the testing program because "it identifies deficiencies in the educational process" as well as measuring what individual students have or have not learned.

Holloway sees learning as "the active acquiring of habits, knowledge, and skills. It consists of changing the behavior and nature of human beings. It is a process by which we become able to do something that we previously could not do." He closed by recounting the story of a poor man who once asked his neighbor if he would give him a fish. The neighbor replied, "No. If I give you a fish, you will have food for a day. If I teach you to fish, you will have food for a lifetime."

"Let us all learn to be fishermen," Holloway concluded.

Harriet Doss Willis, Director, Urban Education Program, CEMREL Inc., St. Louis, Missouri

> *"It is clear that there are many exemplary practices, many fine staff people doing a fine job, and young people like the ones here with us today, who are learning. But there is not a way yet to make the exemplary practices system-wide."*

Harriet Willis explained that CEMREL (Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory) operates an urban education program, a collaborative effort with twenty school systems in the largest cities in the Midwest. The states involved are Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Tennessee and Wisconsin. The program is funded in part by the National Institute of Education, HEW, and the Urban Education Program.

CEMREL, located in St. Louis, works with such a broad area because, although twenty educational laboratories were funded with federal money in 1965 and 1966, only seven are still in existence. Willis conceived the idea of CEMREL in 1972, but it was not funded until 1977, she continued. "We are the broker, assisting school districts with better research and development information addressed to problems they have already identified." Eighteen of the twenty school districts are now actively involved in the program. (Superintendents in the remaining two districts do not think they are "geared to participate at this time," according to Willis.)

The group decided on two goals: to identify any mechanism that would increase the capacity of the school districts to improve classroom instruction and learning, and to develop a communication network for the school districts to share information and solutions to problems. "One outcome I had not expected, when we pulled those school districts and state departments together, was that the administrative staff representatives who were sent by the chief state officers and superintendents did not regularly talk to each other," Willis commented.

"The system-wide application of problem-solving strategies, better use of resources, and the more effective use of research and development outcomes are the major thrusts of the program," Willis said. One of the results of the program is a booklet, "Research Within Reach: A Research-Guided Response to Concerns of Reading Educators." This synthesis of an examination of 150 reading programs was prepared by Willis, and "starts with questions teachers, reading specialists, superintendents, coordinators, and people from all levels of practice have." CEMREL is now collecting questions that parents have about reading. In 1978 it also sponsored a conference on teaching and learning in urban schools, and is planning another on integrated schooling.

Discussion

Dudley Rucker, a participant, asked about accountability. How does the community motivate or cause teachers to be accountable? Are the teachers accountable to the parents, or to the principals? The principals, in turn, are usually accountable to the superintendents and the board. That is the usual process. "In New York City we find it very difficult to get accountability in 1979, as opposed to, say, 1969, when the unions did not have the kind of influence they have now. In my opinion, and the opinion of people much more knowledgeable than I, the unions force out a good superintendent."

Campbell responded by offering his opinion:

> *I happen to believe that, while the decentralization efforts on the east coast blazed the trail for us in terms of parent involvement, in some ways they poisoned the well. I believe that the community-controlled power confrontation model that was used up and down the eastern seaboard during the 1960s really radicalized, or helped to radicalize the teachers.*

On the West Coast, Campbell added, the approach was different. There an attempt was made to form an alliance between parents and teachers—a positive sense of cooperation, school by school. "You almost have to do it over and over again. You have different people, different sets of relationships. I find that very rarely do schools lack models of instruction, lack good ideas about how to teach. In almost every case, it's a people problem."

There was some discussion about good teachers and good teaching. Campbell commented that "people ought to be very cautious when they begin to talk about current schools and the breakdown in discipline. . . . If you are talking about those kinds of problems, you can almost always trace them to a breakdown in family authority."

Rucker raised the question of teaching other languages, emphasizing that English is spoken everywhere in the world. "I say again we have to learn how to speak the native tongue, English."

Fortune took issue with this point of view:

"As to foreign language and the teaching of Spanish, French, or any other language, it is vital that somebody learn these languages. . . . We must provide services for minorities who come here and need to learn English. They must learn English, but we must learn other languages, too."

Jane Rivera commented: "I feel that we need to preserve our culture, and we need to preserve our language. . . . My last name is Rivera. I am very proud of it. . . . My language is a beautiful one and I do not want my children to lose it."

Campbell continued, "Most advocates of bilingual education in California are the first to say, 'We want our youngsters to learn English. We want them to achieve, we want them to read, and we want them to write. We also want them to have an education and a language that they understand while they are learning English.' The essence of the *Lau* decision is that every youngster has a civil right to have an education in a language that that youngster understands."

Rivera raised a question about parent participation on advisory committees and noted how often the opinjons of parents on such committees are rejected.

Campbell pointed out that the difficulty in education often is that school people take a completed product to the advisory Committee. "What we are trying to do is to get parents involved at the beginning. . . . What we are trying to do is to put teachers and parents together on an equal footing; not parent control, equal footing." he said.

Willis was asked if CEMREL has identified any mechanisms to improve learning, and if it has had any feedback on how its networks are working.

Willis replied that CEMREL's measure of success is the continued involvement of the school districts. They are not collecting achievement data on individual schools. They are attempting to share experiences of the various districts because there are many examples of school districts working on a problem without recognizing that another district had solved the same problem earlier.

Rucker asked: How is it possible for a child to start school in kindergarten and then, twelve, thirteen or fourteen years later not be able to read?

Campbell responded that these are children who have been systematically deprived of a learning opportunity at an early age. "I think that people did not believe they could learn." He added that the most abysmal failure of the system is in this area, but that there are changes being made in the elementary grades. Test scores went up fifteen points in the elementary grades in California because Title I is working there. But test scores went down in the high schools where there were no specific enrichment programs.

Session 3

"School Management and Governance: Strategies for Increasing School Responsiveness"

Lawrence Pierce, Professor of Political Science, University of Oregon, Eugene

> *"Underlying the entire equal opportunity approach to educational reform is the belief that the overall quality of education can be improved if those groups which are not well served by the public schools are brought into the mainstream of public education."*

Lawrence Pierce discussed ways that school-based management (SBM) fits into recent reform efforts in education. The greatest efforts have been in the area of guaranteeing equal educational opportunity to groups who, traditionally, have not been served well by our public school system. This strategy was carried out through the courts by the civil rights movement. The school finance reform movement was primarily interested in providing "greater equality of services to children who live in districts of unequal wealth. . . . " There has also been a push for equal opportunity for all handicapped children whether theirs is a physical, cultural or language handicap.

Another approach for improving education is the accountability approach, Pierce stated. "The basic idea here is to try to identify the failures that occur in public education, and then to remove them or provide incentives for people to rehabilitate themselves so that those failures won't recur in the future."

Pierce spoke of two accountability strategies: to improve management skills or management information systems in order to identify problems and eliminate them before they become too serious; to provide public access to educational decision-making so that the public can blow the whistle early enough to avoid poor performance in the provision of public schooling. Pierce termed a third approach to improving education the "responsiveness" approach which assumes that the schools, as organized now, cannot provide quality education. It calls for a reorganization "so that schools provide services which better match the educational needs and preferences of children and families attending those schools."

School-based management is one strategy for achieving more responsive schools. "School-based management shares some of the intellectual rationale of educational vouchers; both school-based management and the voucher concept . . . reject the idea that there is one best way to educate children," Pierce continued.

Both see greater parent and family involvement in education as essential for improving education. SBM tries to create diversity and family responsibility within the existing structure of public education . . . so as not to give up improvements in education that have resulted from providing equal opportunity and from accountability developments in the last few years.

The voucher approach relies more entirely on the marketplace, and I think threatens some of the advances that have been made in improving the opportunities of minorities and other groups.

When the two are compared—school-based management and vouchers—Pierce believes the question arises as to whether SBM "can provide enough responsiveness and diversity to forestall growing interest in private educational alternatives." He stressed the growing public interest, at the federal, state and local levels, in voucher systems. There has been an initiative petition in Michigan, and one is circulating in California which would provide for a public-private voucher arrangement. "School-based management offers an alternative to that trend," Pierce stated, "and I think we have to be hard-nosed in asking whether it's up to the task of meeting the voucher challenges. . . . School-based management attempts to improve education by making it more responsive in the current framework of public education, a public system that is financed and provided publicly."

He noted that while all of the panelists were concerned with improvement at the school building level, the presentations in this session would deal with one program initiated at the local level, one at the state level, and one that is basically a federal private initiative.

Lynn Gray, Education Program Director, New York Urban Coalition, New York City

"We've got a lot of people, all of whom start off with the basic premise, 'We want the schools to be good.' But over the past years they have come to know each other, not as partners, but in some ways as alien forces that keep each other from being successful."

Lynn Gray described the educational situation in New York City—an elected board of education with thirty-two local community districts, each with an elected board. There are 1,000 schools approximately, and a $3 billion budget. New York has a very strong teachers union, the United Federation of Teachers; there is also a strong supervisors' union, and several "massive" parent organizations. There have been several major crises in the schools, Gray said. In 1968 a strike resulted in barriers which now, eleven years later, still keep people apart, according to Gray. There has been a fiscal crisis for the last four years.

The New York Coalition was organized in 1968, and ten years later it decided to launch a major educational project—to convene "all the fragmentary groups and different constituencies in the city and facilitate their collaboration on the implementation of a city-wide strategy." The Coalition developed a set of six concepts which seemed to be essential ingredients of successful schooling: (1) recognition of the unique and primary role of the principal as an educational manager; (2) comprehensive planning of instructional programs; (3) shared ownership by the different constituencies; (4) collaboration among the multiple tiers of the bureaucracies; (5) particular kinds of technical assistance; and (6) incentives which rewarded, rather than penalized, success. They then presented these to "everybody who was either obviously powerful or said they were powerful or wished they were powerful."

In 1978, the Coalition called together around 500 persons from all the different constituencies, telling them: "You might not believe it, but you've all said you could collaborate if it weren't for the person sitting next to you or in the room with you." The resulting organization was the New York Task Force on Local School Development. Six months later the group met again and decided to implement the concept for local school development. Thus, all the organizations involved agreed to be linked for three years in a cooperative undertaking. Representatives of each of the groups were pledged to go back to their group and analyze what was happening in their schools, and apply what they had learned to their own operation or policy to determine if the things they normally did helped or hindered good schooling. The group now has become the Council on Local School Development and is about to begin work in about sixty schools in seven districts with all socioeconomic levels, and all racial and cultural mixes.

James W. Longstreth, Professor of Education, University of Florida, Gainesville

"School-based management really seeks to maximize the benefits of all participants in the decision-making process."

James Longstreth talked of his experience as superintendent of schools in a Florida district that implemented school-based management about two years before it became state law, and as director of a study for the National Urban Coalition. He called school-based management a state of mind which seeks to involve all participants in decision making. It means considering all alternatives so that possible solutions can be weighed to ensure that they do not produce more problems.

Private enterprise, Longstreth pointed out, is built around consumer choice and feedback. But in education there is a captive market and the consumer of education has no viable alternative. "Mandatory attendance laws provide us an instant market for our product, regardless of the quality, the price or the desire for that particular product." Only by bringing the consumer onto the boards of directors of educational organizations can they become a part of the decision-making process. "What we're trying to form then is a partnership between those who were previously the producers of education, and the clientele of the educational system."

In talking to various groups, parents, teachers and principals, the word "ownership" was constantly used in connection with school-based management, Longstreth found. There was no one model of school-based management. What must be done is "to identify the right questions a district might ask of itself and let each district develop its own model," he said. These key questions are a part of a guidebook on school-based management to be published this year by the National Urban Coalition.

Monroe County, which probably has the most highly developed SBM system in Florida, "moved significantly upward in the state rankings of the statewide assessment program for their students," according to Longstreth. Parents, students, and teachers were all involved in the partnership. Longstreth also commented on what happened in Alachua County, Florida, with SBM:

One of the things we noticed was that between the last year of a centralized system and the second year of a decentralized system, there was a 44 percent decrease in kilowatt hour usage in the school system. They turned the air conditioning off; they turned the heating system off. . . . When we talk about a 44 percent decrease, that sounds impressive, but what is even more impressive to me is that out of a $30 million budget for the entire school district, that represented $1.5 million that was previously spent on utility bills that could now be spent on direct and, perhaps more important, on instructional activities. . . .

Another key consideration in SBM is providing enough money so that people can make some decisions, Longstreth stated. In Monroe County all teachers had a small amount of money that they had total control over; each advisory council also had a certain amount of money to use freely.

In 1976, Florida's legislature enacted legislation which stated that all school districts would move toward a system of school-based management and planning. Because many people still don't know what SBM is, Longstreth continued, they feared that someone else's model would be imposed on them. Some educators still fear citizen involvement. Florida is one of the few states that still has elected superintendents in about two-thirds of its school districts, and Longstreth reported that some of them fear that "their political futures may be on the line if they just suddenly give up any of their authority." "Perhaps the greatest fear is that the shift in power from district staff to school staff creates a considerable amount of resistance on the part of the district staff and a great deal of uneasiness on the part of the school staff with regard to its new responsibilities," Longstreth concluded.

Willoughby G. Walling, Federal Coordinator, Cities in Schools Program, Washington, D.C.

"Instead of looking at a youth as an educational problem or a drug problem or a manpower problem or a welfare problem, we in Cities in Schools feel you have to look at a kid as a total human being who may or may not have more than one problem."

Willoughby Walling described Cities in Schools as "an attempt to coordinate educational and social services in urban schools." The program is based on the premise that young people are whole people with different problems and opportunities; and if just the educational problems are addressed, there are other problems that will impinge on their academic life. "Cities in Schools attempts to be an integrating mechanism bringing the specialists together where they should be brought together for a human being who is a whole person," Walling said. Cities in Schools works through the schools because they are such an important part of community life.

The program came about partly as the result of a survey of the resources for youth in four communities: Atlanta; East Harlem; Stamford, Connecticut; and Pittsburgh. By counting the amount of time various workers—including policemen, social workers, teachers and so on,—spend with fifteen- to nineteen-year olds, the finding was that there is a ratio of one adult for every seven young people. "Then the problem becomes: Why aren't we doing a better job?" Walling said. Cities in Schools was an attempt to bring about greater coordination of resources.

He explained that the Cities in Schools approach is to divide a large urban school into smaller units and then to form teams of social service workers and teachers to work with groups of students in a subsection.

The smallest unit is what we call a "family" of forty kids, and in that family are four social service workers who perform one of our different functional roles. And it doesn't really matter what agencies they come from.

The four functional roles involved with a "family" are a remedial educator; a program specialist responsible for organizing activities; a youth worker or "family facilitator," someone who knows how to relate to children and is usually the leader of the four social service workers; and a social service specialist who knows how to negotiate with the agency from which he/she comes. There is one teacher attached to each family. Three families form a unit with three core teachers in English, math, and social studies. The students take the rest of their classes in the regular school system. So, Walling explained, there is a team of 15 working with about 120 students.

He noted that the social service specialist, in addition to a functional role, has two others. One is to be responsible for negotiating with the agency from which he/she has come to get necessary resources for the youth and their families. The other is being responsible for the total welfare of ten students. Accountability is built into the program in two ways, according to Walling: every child is the responsibility of a staff person and each of the staff is subject to peer review.

Obviously, by taking a large school and dividing it up into units of 120 and then into units of 40 and then into units of 10, we make them small enough so community can take place. We think a good thing happens in small groupings, both between staff and kids . . . and between kids and kids.

The project is also designed to build up the teacher's morale by assigning each staff person to a team whose other members have skills different from theirs. Walling reported that Cities in Schools is presently working in three cities and is beginning projects in two others. They are working with 2,800 youth in twenty schools, including eight high schools and four alternative schools for dropouts. They are also beginning to experiment with programs for younger children.

Cities in Schools works with the private sector also, and often finds its influence helpful, Walling said. He noted that there was need for a facilitator to bring people together. Only when local people begin to feel a sense of ownership will the project really work well.

Discussion

A participant wanted to know if the states have a role in developing curriculum for these kinds of programs and if the states all differ in their curriculum guidelines.

Pierce responded that most states have some requirements concerning curriculum, but that a good deal of the curriculum is set at the district level. "The idea behind SBM, or school decentralization, is to negotiate with the legislature to eliminate as many of the statewide

requirements as possible. And once that happens, as in California and Florida to some extent, then you start working at the school district level and negotiate for elimination of requirements at the local school district level," he said.

Longstreth commented that Florida statutes have a laundry list of things that must be taught in the schools. But the list includes general rather than specific curriculum decisions. As an example, he noted: "In Monroe County each year there must be a comprehensive plan developed by the school faculty and principal, including the budget, that outlines what they plan to do in that particular year. The advisory council and the faculty must sign off on the comprehensive plan and the budget before it can be submitted to the county office for approval."

One of the participants asked several questions about SBM in Florida and how it came about.

Longstreth traced the beginning of SBM to a commission appointed by Governor Askew in 1972 to spend two years studying education in Florida and then to make recommendations. One of the key recommendations was that people in general be involved in decisions about schools, because the average citizen doesn't really have access to the school board.

Pierce added, "The Florida legislature mandated school advisory councils, and they mandated the annual reports of school progress. Nevertheless, it took a strong superintendent in all of the districts that actually went about implementing that mandate; it took a superintendent who could look beyond the immediate loss of power resulting from delegating it to the school building to realize that, if he did that, he would end up with as much or more control over education."

Walling commented that Cities in Schools wanted to be sure that its evaluation was sound. It formed a number of "stake-holder" groups in the cities in which it worked—different kinds of groups because they were trying to find the best method of evaluation. These groups were asked: What do you want to know about this program? "So we needed from the beginning—and that means before the evaluation design was even made—to get them involved in really seeing that evaluations, more than anything else, have to answer their questions," Walling explained.

A participant from Florida's State Department of Education pointed out that SBM in Florida takes place within the framework of a strict state assessment program with functional literacy testing in order to receive a high school diploma. There is also testing in basic skills in grades three, five, eight and eleven. In addition, Dade County has developed a book of guidelines, a balanced educational curriculum with a monitoring system and people within the district who check on feeder systems. But there must be overall goals, too, if SBM is not to end up as 2,000 separate little systems with no cohesiveness.

Pierce commented: "The two states that have moved the farthest toward school-based management are California and Florida, both of which are more highly centralized states with very thick education codes. I'm sure part of the reason for it is a reaction against the kind of overcentralization and the extra requirements you find in both those states. . . .

"Education is a state responsibility. Without any information, the legislators would never delegate that responsibility. So information about the performance of local districts is a kind of minimum requirement."

Session 4

"Will Minimum Competency Testing Improve Education?"

Robin Riopelle, Student, Long Beach Polytechnical High School, Long Beach, California

"I feel that minimum competency testing will improve education if students are given repeated opportunities to pass the test and special attention is given to those who do not."

Robin Riopelle discussed the pros and cons of minimum competency testing. She noted that test scores have been dropping across the United States; and state legislatures, which bear the responsibility for education, must decide what to do. Some states blame teachers for the present situation; others blame students and parents, and still others blame both students and teachers. Riopelle listed other reasons, in addition to the drop in test scores, in favor of minimum competency testing: the high school diploma no longer means that a student has demonstrated certain skills and proficiencies, and society depends on a person's minimum competency.

Among the negative aspects of competency testing, she discussed the fact that educational research has not devised a test that is fair to all students. In addition, sometimes students must take a test under adverse circumstances—after some sort of trauma. She discussed the difficulty in deciding what is competency and the danger teachers will begin to teach to the test and this will result in a loss of individuality.

Riopelle talked of the various methods different states have used to try to improve education. California, in 1972, passed an act requiring that teachers be evaluated every two years. Later the legislature passed the Hart Act which became effective in 1977. She presented its five major provisions:

1. Local governing boards must adopt standards of proficiency in basic skills areas including, but not limited to, reading comprehension, writing and computation.

2. Students must be assessed at least once in grades seven through nine, and twice in grades ten and eleven on their proficiency in meeting the prescribed standards. Students who demonstrate proficiency do not have to be reassessed.

3. School districts must hold a conference with the student who does not meet the prescribed standards and with the student's parents to discuss the assessment and proposed instructional assistance.

4. School districts must provide instruction in basic skills for any student who does not meet the established standards.

5. After 1980, no student shall graduate from high school who has not met the standards of proficiency.

Floretta McKenzie, Deputy Superintendent, Montgomery County Public Schools, Rockville, Maryland

> *"I am somewhat fearful that unless we get the whole idea of competency testing in the correct perspective, we will be misleading our clients and will end up unable to deliver what we are promising."*

Floretta McKenzie explained that until the past year she was assistant deputy superintendent for the state of Maryland with direct responsibility for developing the competency assessment program for the state. She worked in that position for a year and explained, "I tried to do some things at the state level to make sure that young people in Maryland would not be penalized by this push for minimum competency assessment."

"When one is engaged in testing," McKenzie went on to say, "you either want to find out how much students do know in order to help them, or how much they don't know in order to sort them out." To develop a testing system to help students, there must be curriculum validity—teachers in the schools must be teaching what is being tested.

McKenzie explained that because there are only twenty-four school systems in Maryland, her office was able to bring all the superintendents and all the associate superintendents for instruction together to examine "all the domain we wanted to assess." The state superintendent and state board prepared a policy statement on what students in Maryland "should know and what kind of adults we hoped they would grow up to be."

So, McKenzie said, the next step was to develop goals, then to go out to every local school system to find out if those goals were incorporated in their instructional programs. If not, they had to be put there. Next, there was work with persons in charge of instruction to be sure that the work was included in the courses being taught.

> *There we had to deal with the local school systems to find out if there was instructional validity. You can have the information in your curriculum document, but if you're not teaching it, that is a problem too. . . . I cannot stand before you and guarantee that all of the objectives are being taught. We work on that, but it's a weak point.*

The final step, she added, was to find out if the test to be given was valid. It may be one the state is developing or one that is bought from the test makers. The approach in Maryland was "to develop an instrument for diagnostic purposes for seventh graders, and ninth graders could begin taking it for real and if they were successful, they were opted out of testing for the rest of their high school career." The class of 1982 is the first class that will have to pass the minimum competency test for graduation. Remediation work has been established for those who do not pass.

McKenzie noted that Maryland was able to work the testing plans out in such an orderly fashion because "we could convince the legislature not to pass any legislation with respect to this issue, because legislation is much more difficult to change than a state board policy." She explained how she and her coworkers developed a five-year master plan and documented every phase of the program.

> *We have documents to describe how we generated the competency tests, how we validated them through a statewide survey, because all the population must be involved if you want to move in this direction. You can't surprise kids and their parents and say we're laying this on you right now.*

There will be continuous evaluation of the testing, and national consultants will be involved in the assessment plan. There are also many advisory groups involved over a long period of time.

> *There is still one diploma in the state of Maryland. We do not see the diploma as a screening-out device. If employers want to know what young people have done, they will have the results of their minimum competency assessment and they can always send for a transcript.*
>
> *For those youngsters who have difficulty with paper and pencil tests, we have built into the state board policy the development of panels to assess youngsters in different ways, so that the paper-pencil test will not be the only method of assessment. . . .*

Garfield Wilson, Director of Teacher Education, Florida State Department of Education, Tallahassee

> *"The testing controversy, as we call it, came upon us because we had advocated and used tests all these years. I think we have to share some guilt when we criticize the mandated test programs that have come, because we have not shown something better."*

Garfield Wilson discussed Florida's minimum competency testing which began a number of years ago. Now the state is moving into the area of testing for teachers. He attributed much of the decrease in confidence in teaching to the mass media. But this is not the real issue, Wilson believes; the real issue is the loss of confidence in education as a whole.

> *It's reflected to the teachers—the educational personnel—because we constitute the largest portion of the public education resources—budget. Four out of every five dollars of tax money goes to pay the teachers and the administrators. That's where it hits the public in the pocketbook. . . .*

Wilson traced the reasons for the loss of confidence in the schools to the '40s and World War II when, he said, the quality of teachers was poor. It was then, too, Wilson stated, that all levels of the population from all parts of the country came together in the Army "and began to recognize that there were great differences in the educational training they had had. This was compounded—really reinforced—by the testing the Army did. . . ." The Army tested and made duty assignments on the basis of test results.

After World War II, Wilson continued, the charge to the schools, as more babies were born, was to provide for all of them a classroom, a high school education, and teachers with degrees. These were the goals for education during the forties and the fifties.

Late in the 1950s and into the '60s we began to get some unrest in the country, again because our communication was improving. That unrest was because we were finding great differences in the high schools. This high school was not as adequate as that one. . . . In many cases these differences were reflected in the communities in which the high school was located. In the South, it was reflected in whether or not the high school was white.

Equalizing educational opportunity became another goal of education in the '60s, and the need for more money was recognized, according to Wilson. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) came into being as a result. Beginning about 1970, school enrollments began to decline and the public began to question the fact that school requests for money did not decline. And, he pointed out, although industry depends on quality control—"we in the profession had not paid too much attention to quality control for three decades. We had looked at quantity." So the public began to press for quality education.

Wilson contends that the public is now turning to testing as the answer to education's problem partly because the education professionals had advocated and used tests for many years. "The lay public—and most of the legislators are members of the lay public—believe that testing is the answer. So, I think that in most cases we have asked for testing."

He turned then to the question of testing teachers. Teachers are hired he said, by looking at transcripts and whether a person has a degree. But there are 1400 teacher training institutions in the country, and there is no consistent training program.

The standards of credibility that we have used historically have been process standards rather than product standards. We have accredited our colleges and universities by looking at the number of books in the library in the institution, how many of the professors have doctorate degrees, how many students are assigned a professor, how many hours he stays in a classroom each quarter. . . .

We have accredited institutions, and then our system is set up to take graduates of those accredited institutions.

Wilson reported that an increasing number of states are requiring minimum competency testing of teachers—Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida among them. The question of governance and decision-making is also a vulnerable area, he said. Now the state legislature in Florida is getting involved and vying for power with teacher unions, accreditation associations, associations of college teachers and so on, Wilson noted.

We cannot agree on who's going to decide what are the standards for the profession, but this is what we have to do. We have to identify and reach some agreement within the profession on some standards that are unique to the profession, unique and specific or explicit—not course titles, but competencies or behaviors or skills, more specific than the course titles we've used over the years.

He added that the teaching profession must demand not just a written evaluation of teachers but also performance in the classroom.

Wilson reported that all accountability legislation in Florida was put in one package that specifies student performance standards for grades three, five, eight and eleven. Students must pass the eleventh grade assessment program to get a diploma. Students who didn't pass the test the first year are being retested and are showing a significant gain this year, Wilson said. This is partly due to an influx of compensatory education funds that helped districts provide remedial help.

The Teacher Education and Certification Act of 1979 "requires some standards for admission to teacher education programs; requires that some competencies be included in the program; requires in 1980 that all persons applying for initial certification in Florida must pass a written examination; in 1981, they must have completed a year-long internship demonstrating performance on those competencies."

Isidro Lucas, Deputy Regional Director, United States Commission on Civil Rights, Chicago, Illinois

"What is the intent of the test? Is the intent to improve education? Is the intent to get accountability from the schools? If so, why do you put the burden on the student? If I were a demagogue, then I might say maybe the intent is to keep blacks and Hispanics out. . . ."

Isidro Lucas expressed concern over "what is going to happen to our black and our Hispanic children if or when competency testing goes through." There is a suit pending, he noted, which challenges the Florida Functional Literacy Test. The question is basically, Lucas believes, to what extent minimum competency testing unfairly impacts on black, Hispanic and other minority students. He also raised the due process issue which arises when minority students, perhaps in the junior year, are told that if they don't pass a test, they can't graduate from high school. He pointed out that minority students often have not been attending the same quality schools that others have.

What is the intent of the test, Lucas asked? Is the intent to improve education, to get accountability from the schools? Why should the burden be on the student?

What is the problem with the schools that are still segregated but are in the process of fighting the desegregation requirement? What about school systems that are actually fighting in court to keep a segregated system? . . .

Lucas also questioned the predictive validity of the minimum competency tests and whether they predict success in life. "If we're talking about life competencies, as we love to talk about in this minimum competency testing, then by whose standards are we measuring the life competencies, or isn't that essentially culturally biased?" he asked.

Lucas noted that thirty-three states had adopted some kind of minimum competency testing by May 1978, so a discussion of its shortcomings may be futile. The question becomes, "How do we cope with it?" he continued. He suggested "a very hard look at the validation program, then an examination of compensatory programs to be provided and the extent to which these are resegregation systems." He concluded,

Finally, we need a very basic research program. I understand NIE has just given a grant for a four-year study on the entire issue of minimum competency testing. They tell me, however, that the differential effect on minorities is going to be a very small part of that discussion.

I think we need very serious analysis in which we show why minorities are not scoring as highly on tests as the majority population does. I happen to believe it is because the tests are not properly validated, because they are essentially biased. We have to prove that.

Discussion

Johnny Jones, superintendent of Dade County Schools, commented: "I like what was said about tests being used to assess achievement but not as an exclusionary device to determine whether a person—after going to school for twelve years—becomes a success or a failure. We spend in this country, on the average, $4.50 of every $5 for the instructional program, and I still contend that the best predictor of a child's success is teacher judgment."

"But," he continued, "I believe that minimum competency testing has done one thing. It has caused a renaissance somewhat in the minds of teachers and perhaps in parents and students who know that before they leave school, they have to have something going for them. And I've found that attendance has improved. In some schools it has gone from 85 to 95 percent in less than a year. . . .

". . . I believe if the youngster is going to be held accountable for the game that's being played right now, somebody else had better be held accountable, too. So, more than construct validity and all the other kinds of validities, what needs to happen is something called policy and something called strong administration to begin to fire people who aren't teaching children. . . . When the administrators aren't doing their jobs, deal with them and stop transferring them from school to school. . . . "

"Finally," Jones stated, "we need to be very careful of any mode that puts all the burden of proof on the back of the student. We have youngsters six hours a day; the parents have them eighteen hours a day. Until there is some new network or new linkage system, the victims of all this will be basically black children. But the question will be resolved when white children, many of whom are failing, begin to sue."

Robert Ramirez questioned Robin Riopelle about testing in California and whether there is a statewide test there.

Riopelle answered that the Long Beach district has adopted such a test and the other districts may adopt it.

Ramirez then asked, "Do you think all districts in California are equal now in the quality of education?" When Riopelle responded in the negative, he asked: "How can you provide a standardized test to provide a common finishing line for people? They're not being trained the same way."

Riopelle responded: "That's true and that's one of the reasons why it is a local thing right now. Hopefully, in the future, under the Hart Act, education will become more equal. . . . "

Evelyn Robinson, a participant from New Jersey, representing a newly-formed parents' union, reported a move in her state to introduce minimum competency testing. Parents are concerned, she said, because they aren't sure what they can do, how they can learn about the testing.

Wilson replied that the Florida legislature mandated local parent advisory committees and that "parent involvement is being mandated where it hasn't happened voluntarily."

Don Lewis, a lawyer with the Justice Department, commented: "One of the most frightening things is that states are rushing in without much serious thought as to the impact this testing requirement is going to have, not only on the quality of education of all youngsters, but particularly the impact on minority students. We at the Justice Department have been very interested in the problem and are doing our investigation and review of the programs in light of what's happening in Florida." He also said that the due process argument was a relevant one, especially in states that are introducing minimum competency testing abruptly, rather than phasing it in.

McKenzie noted that in Maryland, the Center for Law and Education had been called in to look at the program and "to try to tell us if we were on the wrong track." The study has not been completed.

Lillian Millner, Woman's Caucus Chair from the State University of New York, commented that at the university level in New York there is concern that the result of testing will be a decrease in minority students. "I find that in a school system like New York's, a system where you have a lot of minorities, testing's a way of getting rid of minorities constantly."

Another participant, Boyd Bosma, commented: "It seems to me that the same issues we're talking about now are the ones we fought in the National Teacher Examination in Florida in 1966 and in South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, where they attempted to get rid of black teachers when school desegregation came and where they attempted to set up programs to push out black kids when they went through the process [of desegregation]."

The most important issue in minimum competency testing, he said, has two components—due process and differential effect. Both relate to the question: "What is going to happen to minorities in the process?"

Session 5

"Equality of Educational Opportunity: Where Do We Go from Here?"

Aubrey McCutcheon, President, McCutcheon Associates, Detroit, Michigan

"We know that minorities are in conflict, minority to minority, over the amount of money that should be spent in improving the educational services in K-12 schools and the amount of money spent on higher education."

Session chairperson Aubrey McCutcheon raised a few points "to provoke the speakers":

1. Minorities are in conflict over the amount of money that should be spent in public education and in higher education. They are in competition for the dollars available for compensatory programs and bilingual education.

2. There have been injustices at times in urban and rural areas when attempts have been made to equalize expenditures per child.

3. Metropolitan desegregation plans "assure that minority pupils will always be in the minority, and this, coupled with resulting losses of minority staff and administration similar to that which occurred in the South, increases the potential for continued inattention to the many long-discerned, but only recently acknowledged, special needs of the urban child, particularly the poor and minorities."

4. "We know that some of the straight pupil mix plans and intradistrict remedies proposed by various plaintiffs and ordered by various courts, instead of resulting in desegregation and equal educational opportunity, have sometimes resulted in more segregation, resegregation, and no improvement in quality of educational services to bused pupils who are black, brown or yellow."

Abdin Noboa, Project Director, Desegregation Trends Study, ASPIRA of America, Reston, Virginia

"What we now have in effect are two good court decisions [Brown and Lau] *pitted against each other. The resulting antagonism I consider potentially serious. There exists potential hostility between Hispanics and blacks, the two largest minority groups in this country."*

Abdin Noboa began by illustrating that discrimination has not ended in this country. As examples, he cited a number of cases:

Bloomingdale's department store agreed to pay $50,000 in civil penalties for allegedly discriminating against women applicants for credit.

The Boy Scouts of America, in a recent federal suit, were accused of discrimination against boys with physical handicaps.

Racial discrimination in housing is "rampant."

A recent study by the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies shows that lending practices in New York City, Rochester, Buffalo and Syracuse were based on race more than on property location. "Mortgage applications of blacks were twice as likely to be turned down as those of whites, although in terms of property and neighborhood characteristics the populations were identical."

A recent study comparing black residential mobility from 1970-1977 shows that, although blacks migrated to the suburbs at a higher rate (34 percent) in 1977, they were also more segregated in 1977.

There are similar patterns among Hispanics in the mid-70s. Initial projections from ASPIRA indicate that from 1970-1974, the increase in segregation of Hispanics in the fifty largest urban centers was at least 17 percent.

A white male high school dropout earns substantially more than a white female with a college degree—almost 30 percent more. The white male dropout earns nearly the same as a minority male with four years of college.

Despite "the rhetoric of affirmative action," fewer Hispanics enrolled in doctoral programs the past decade, than in the previous one.

Black enrollment in 124 medical schools has dropped despite an overall increase in enrollment.

Affirmative action "has now become a protection for whites through the overused complaint of 'reverse discrimination.'"

Noboa discussed conflicts that arise between blacks and Hispanics over various desegregation plans:

To many of our people the implementation of desegregation plans . . . in some communities has come to mean the dismantling of some bilingual programs for many of our people.

This has come about despite the Lau v. Nichols *1974 Supreme Court decision which upheld the right of non-English speaking students to educational programs designed to meet their language skill needs.*

What we have now in effect are two good laws being pitted against each other. The resulting antagonism is one which I consider potentially serious. . . .

Noboa pointed out that desegregation plans call for the racial mixing of blacks and whites, but bilingual education programs are most effective with large groups of non-English-speaking children. "Remedies which alleviate educational problems for one minority population do not necessarily resolve them for a different racial/ethnic minority group. Our communities, therefore, while advocating Hispanic rights are sometimes seen in opposition to the rights of blacks."

He discussed another area of concern for Hispanics—the way in which they have been racially categorized in various desegregation plans—as "blacks", "whites" or "others", depending on the mind of the court, seldom on the merits of the case.

Noboa referred to a research study being conducted by ASPIRA to examine these two problems. The study, the first on these questions which have been raised for some time, is being funded by the National Institute of Education, and will:

1. Look at desegregation trends in major urban districts over an eight-year period, 1968-1976.

2. Make an intensive examination of Hispanic segregation and the Hispanic composition of selected schools over the same period.

3. Compare available information on black segregation with that of Hispanics for many of these districts.

4. Analyze the context of desegregation for two school districts with a typical patterns of segregation and desegregation. The study will investigate all school districts with an enrollment above 3,000 which are either 5-percent-or-above Hispanic or 5-percent-or-above black. There is only about a 30 percent overlap between the two groups in these school districts, Noboa said.

He reported that the study will include intensive case studies of two school districts—one on the east coast and one on the west coast; one predominantly Puerto Rican, the other predominantly Chicano. The study suggests that the failure of desegregation plans is not necessarily because the plans are poor, but often because of poor implementation, which is frequently the result of ethnic conflict and ethnic cleavage. Ethnic cleavage is boundary maintenance—"the degree of exclusivity of membership in these two self-identified ethnic groups."

Thomas I. Atkins, Special Consultant, NAACP Special Contribution Fund, Boston

"I think that part of the reality that blacks and other racial or ethnic minorities must deal with is that the argument of white flight is simply the most desperate attempt of a majority community which has been caught with its hands in the cookie jar to keep them there."

Thomas Atkins expressed his belief that the public's perception of the role of the schools "has undergone a dramatic change." The school's principal role originally was "a citizenship training function, but today many view the schools as "skills training centers."

At a time when minorities and, to a lesser extent low-income people, are trying to acquire the tools and the keys to broad participation in the society, nonminority America is looking to the schools to turn out finished products able to walk into a job that is increasingly more specialized. . . .

It is this situation, Atkins thinks, that has affected the willingness of electorates to vote money for schools. He observed that there is similar confusion over desegregation and what it is supposed to accomplish.

Desegregation is viewed by some as the biggest, and maybe the last, opportunity to broadly change the entire face of public education, to deal with the misallocation of resources, to deal with poor curriculum planning, to deal with problems of segregation, of unequal learning rates, and so on.

Others view desegregation as a starting point from which some of these things might come, but not necessarily requiring all those things to happen in order for desegregation itself to succeed.

These two views of desegregation, Atkins observed, require different types of desegregation plans. He cited the Boston and Detroit plans which are "substantial departures from a typical desegregation order."

Each of these plans carries with it new programs, programs to address vocational needs, to address reading skill needs, broad requirements as to in-service training, not just of teachers but of the entire range of school personnel.

In a sense, the [Detroit] school board used the court to cut across an array of political problems and problems of bureaucracy. To the extent a desegregation order is to serve that purpose . . . you're talking about a very different kind of desegregation order.

To the extent a desegregation order is expected simultaneously to desegregate and to address the problems of biculturalism and/or bilingualism . . . you're talking about a very different creature from a traditional order to desegregate. . . .

. . . There is no necessary conflict between desegregation and bilingual programs or bicultural needs. There will be conflict if there is no advance thought and advance planning. An instance where potential conflicts were anticipated and avoided was in the Boston desegregation order where the black plaintiffs invited the Hispanic community to tell them what kind of program needs they had and to give the plaintiffs the provisions to carry forward as part of the desegregation plan.

Atkins discussed another conflict that has evolved in the whole area of desegregation plans, and that is whether a primary thrust of desegregation should be to create black-controlled institutions.

Some have hoped that a desegregation plan would somehow empower the black community to run something, to learn how to run something, to have opportunities to run something. . . .

There is no inevitable conflict between desegregation and black empowerment. The problem is that if a desegregation plan has already been put into effect, and if there is a new expectation for it, the new expectation is likely not to be realized.

Commenting on the likelihood of a desegregation plan bringing more segregation, Atkins said:

To argue that a desegregation plan creates more segregation or should be avoided because it might lead to resegregation is to argue that the guy who robbed the bank ought not to be made to bring the money back because inevitably someone else will rob the bank.

He also said that in a desegregated system there are sometimes still racially identifiable schools. But, he added, this does not mean that these schools cannot offer quality education. Atkins contended, too, that it is foolish to argue about white flight:

Blacks have never been able to stop white folks from doing anything in this country. That's been the problem. Whites have fled from the South to the North, from the East to the West, from the city to the suburb, from the suburb to the farm, from America to who knows where, to the moon. White flight will continue, as long as there are whites who can fly. . . .

The legal issue is: If there is going to be public education, will public officials be permitted to deliberately separate children on the basis of race? And up to this point the courts, interpreting the Constitution, have said no. They may change that but they haven't yet. . . .

I think that part of the reality that blacks and other racial or ethnic minorities must deal with is that the argument of white flight is simply the most desperate attempt of a majority community, that has been caught with its hands in the cookie jar, to keep them there.

Atkins also stated that desegregation improves the quality of education because where "there has been deliberate segregation of students on the basis of race, whatever else the schools teach, they teach that

the folks in power can do whatever the hell they want to do." Desegregation will not necessarily make black children read better, Atkins added, but desegregation should not mean the end of efforts to improve the quality of education.

Discussion

A participant from Washington, D.C., commented that "the underlying implication here is that you get equal educational opportunity in a desegregated system. . . . I don't know if you can have equal educational opportunity without looking at the fact that there are some people who have started so far behind, that, even in a desegregated system, you have to do more for them."

Atkins responded that "desegregation is only one tool available to those concerned about the quality and the nature of the education children receive in public schools. Where the problem is segregation, desegregation is a response to that. . . . But where the problem is low quality education with no feasible desegregation approach, then the response is going to have to be different." Atkins also commented that some sort of intervention—a court suit or an administrative complaint to an agency or a protest from frustrated parents or community people—is needed to bring any action for change.

Several participants asked: Where do we go from here in terms of the public's perception of *Brown*, in terms of restoring public confidence, and in terms of black empowerment? One said: "There must be a further dimension to the whole process of desegregation that in some way gears up the community (and educators are not going to do it), to strive to achieve the quality of education they envisioned when they brought the suit."

Another participant observed that the courts are stressing change, and often they have offered a mechanism for change in desegregation plans, yet many educators refuse to change. "What do you do when you have a school district that has 50 percent minority administrators and you still have a problem? I think, as educators, some of us have got to have the guts to say: 'This is being done. It just ain't right and we're going to change it.' "

A participant from Milwaukee commented: "Instead of dealing with the issue at hand, we think that because this year or last year desegregation hasn't magically solved all the problems we've had for years and years in public education, whether we were moving blacks and whites or anybody else, we throw up our hands and say: 'You can't improve our schools.' Whether it's an all-white situation or a multicultural one, we are going to have to begin to deal with employees, black or white, who are not teaching children and are not administering those schools."

Another participant asked: "What norm are we using when we talk of equality of educational opportunity? . . . We need to develop very high norms that we expect the school systems to achieve. We need to develop specific plans on how we are going to reach those norms. We have planning experts to call on to get from parents and children in a community what it is they want the school system to do and then come up with an instructional plan. . . . " This participant also suggested that attention be focused on professional areas where minorities are underrepresented—physical and biological sciences, accounting, economics and so on.

Atkins observed that much of the frustration with the schools is a result of the fact that the courts have had the principal role in addressing problems in school systems, "but by the nature of the judicial system, they can't run a school system." He continued, "If you want to have a voice in what goes on in school systems, you'd better vote, because that's where a lot of the decisions are going to be made now. . . . To the extent that we are dissatisfied with the school system, then what we do if we're smart is to realize the Constitution does not guarantee us a high level education, it guarantees us equal access to whatever the level is. We exploit a desegregation process to try to improve the level of education so that everybody gets more."

Atkins noted also that the perception that minority schools are inferior must change. He endorsed the comments of several participants on the responsibility of the profession. "We need to have teachers and administrators letting people know what needs to be done, because the teachers, the administrators and the board members have a unique capacity to see a problem. If a child finishes first grade and can't read, it is not the child's fault. There may have been some family problems that meant the child went to school unequipped to do some of the things we expect an entering first grader to do, but if that child can't read by the end of the first grade, it's the teacher's fault. . . . And if that means that teachers have to do it after two o'clock then why shouldn't they do it? The rest of us do it after two o'clock and after our other jobs are over."

Atkins was asked whether he thought pursuing metropolitan remedies should be the strategy for the '80s. He responded that not every school system can adopt that strategy. "We'd like to have an easier standard to meet in pursuing metropolitan remedies in some instances. But the fact is the courts hold us to the same standard in seeking a metropolitan remedy as they do in seeking an intradistrict remedy. And that is, no remedy without a proven violation."

McCutcheon commented on the metropolitan remedy. He supports it because: (1) When the threat of a metropolitan remedy is present people will realize "they'd better go ahead and cooperate with the district plan because there is no place for them to go." (2) He doesn't believe a metropolitan plan will mean any diminution of black power. "The cities are going to become more and more minority . . . and blacks will maintain control within the city because whites are not going to come back in to take control of the schools. . . . On the other hand, minorities will go out to the suburbs and, for the first time, they will have some input into the programs in the school districts to which their children were being bused."

A participant noted that flight to the suburbs was not always just white flight; it was middle class black flight, too. "I think we need to make blacks more aware of the power that is to be theirs, and of the responsibilities they should assume so they will stay in the city."

A participant asked Noboa to explain why the conflict that may arise from a desegregation plan might be good.

Noboa answered that it is important that Hispanics or other multicultural communities be brought in early in court cases. Now, they are either included in the planning late or not at all. It is vital that they have input into the plan itself. It is also important that there be much more communication between blacks and other minorities. He noted that by 1985 Hispanics will probably be the largest minority group in the country. Blacks and Hispanics are going in the same direction, Noboa added, but "the system is going to make it seem not so."

Atkins observed: "In various parts of the country, I see a tendency on the part of black leadership to be as insensitive to the problems of Hispanics and other minority groups as we have complained the

majority community has been insensitive to our needs." And Hispanics, on the other hand, have frequently permitted the black community to ignore them. But since news of desegregation action is usually well covered in the media, Atkins believes the other minorities must "seek out where they haven't been sought out, not wait for an invitation."

Noboa commented that the minority communities have tended not to become involved unless an issue affected them directly. "I think that more and more we are becoming sensitized to some of these conditions. And we will be much more involved, believe me." Historically, desegregation was regarded as a black and white issue, but "suddenly it has a tremendous effect on matters that affect browns and yellows."

McCutcheon summarized the discussion by responding to the question, "Where do we go from here?"

"We develop a greater cooperation among various minority groups. We assure that blacks are not being as insensitive to the needs of other minorities as non-minorities have been insensitive to the needs of blacks.

"We initiate more discussion among minorities regarding the needs of each minority group. We assure that non-black minorities are involved early in the desegregation process.

"We develop intense awareness programs as to how power can be retained by minorities during desegregation, whether it's intra-district or metropolitan.

"We require more of teachers and other educators. We see to it that minority staff and administration in schools develop a fortitude referred to here as the 'guts' to admit and to remediate when the plan is not being implemented or when other action inconsistent with the provision of equal educational opportunity is deferred.

"We exploit the desegregation process so that we elevate the quality of educational services for all pupils.

"We make greater use of minority voting power.

"We use a 'high norm' as the 'equal' in equal educational opportunity so that we know that what we're saying we want to be equal to is a very high standard.

"And last but not least, we commit ourselves to act on the problem, not just talk about it or listen to it."

Session 6

"Public Attitudes Toward Public Education"

Leonard P. Stavisky, Chairman, Education Committee, New York State Assembly, Albany

> *"Educational planners throughout the country have traditionally thought in terms of expanding enrollment, enrichment of curriculum, new educational offerings, and building new schools to meet the needs of a burgeoning population. Suddenly, we find that the ground rules are shifting, that profound demographic changes are modifying the country and the public's perception of the importance of education."*

Leonard Stavisky explained that the New York Assembly Education Committee, of which he is chairman, has general responsibility for legislation affecting the 748 school districts in New York State and for elementary and secondary education. He is one of the persons who develops and screens questions used by the Gallup Poll to determine public attitudes toward the schools.

Stavisky began by talking of the "politics of plenty, government by growth, and the sanctity of the schools," all of which have been a part of the present generation's beliefs. Now that is changing, the population is aging, there is a reexamination of the nature of the family unit, and "other competing demands of society appear to be eclipsing education to some extent," he said.

> *An aging population is more concerned with health care, medical needs, public safety, mass transit services, not to mention its concern over the tax burden at a time in their lives when incomes are fixed. Coincidental with that concern, we have the emergence of a new phenomenon, the Proposition 13 movement.*

Last year in New York State, one third (222 out of 658) of the school budgets presented to the voters were rejected. Nationally, voters rejected 50 percent of school bond issues presented to them. Stavisky said some of the actions can be attributed to the fact that education is one of the few areas in which voters can help make decisions.

He discussed the Tenth Annual Gallup Poll on Public Attitudes Toward the Public Schools which showed that "a greater percentage of Americans had more confidence in education than in other institutions and groups within American society." Thirty-six percent of the same gave public schools an A or B rating; 19 percent gave the schools a D or F rating. "The only disquieting note in this whole phenomenon is that a scant four years ago the negative rating was not 19 percent . . . it was 11 percent."

The poll showed that lack of discipline was considered the greatest problem in the schools; other problems cited were use of drugs, lack of financial support for education, integration, and declining educational standards. Suggestions for improving the schools were: "stricter discipline, more teachers who take a personal interest in children and who inspire children to set higher goals for themselves, greater emphasis on basic skills, more communication between the educational establishment and parents, and higher scholastic standards."

Almost universally in the sampling, Stavisky continued, there was opposition to automatic promotion and graduation and a recognition that children often need remedial help to reach their full potential. "Most Americans, however, feel that students should be able to perform certain tasks before they are handed their diplomas." The Gallup sample believed that "schools should reach out to compel students to attend," but "almost no one took the hard line that the students should be expelled as a result of a poor attendance record."

Eighty-two percent of those polled considered a college education important or fairly important today.

On the question of funding public education Stavisky noted:

> *While there was some dissatisfaction with the local property tax, the means of financing education, there was no general agreement among those who responded to the survey as to a substitution for the local real property tax in financing education. In fact, what disturbs me most was that the public's perception and familiarity with the process by which the schools are funded is hazy. . . .*

Stavisky reported, though, that the public was more sophisticated than educational planners on issues such as what to do with a surplus school building closed because of declining enrollment. They suggested turning these buildings into community centers, adult education centers, job training centers, cultural facilities such as museums and libraries, youth facilities, or senior citizen centers. Stavisky added that in New York State, 84 percent of the schools closed in 1977 and 1978 are not being used.

Stavisky noted that when adults were asked: "Which courses did you find to be most valuable in later life?" they listed English, math, commercial courses, extracurricular activities, and shop. The adult sample was also asked which courses they wish they had taken. These subjects included typing, math, shop, foreign languages and science.

The poll revealed wide differences of opinion between blacks and whites on the question of equal educational opportunity. To the question, "Do black children and ethnic minorities have equal educational opportunity, the same educational opportunity white children receive?" eighty-six percent of the whites answering said yes. Only 38 percent of the non-whites answered yes. Stavisky commented that this question had the greatest disparity in responses along ethnic lines of any in the poll.

What does the poll mean for policymakers? Stavisky asked.

> *Parents and taxpayers want to be assured that money will reach the classrooms where the children are, and not be diverted for other not-so-essential overhead expenses. I believe—and I think the findings of the poll will indicate—that taxpayers are prepared to support quality education as long as they see measurable results in improved pupil performance.*

The Gallup Poll shows, according to Stavisky, that the American people believe that students should work harder than they do now and so should teachers, supervisors and administrators.

> *They want qualified staff members, qualified before they are hired, not after the fact, and staff members who take a special, individualized look at the children they are entrusted to educate. By the same token, I don't see a "Let's beat up the teacher" syndrome in the Gallup poll.*

The public wants educational methods that work, and they agree with the opinions of the courts in school finance decisions—"that the quality of a child's education should not be the result of an accident of geography," Stavisky continued.

He believes legislators should not be passive about educational issues, but should take an "advocacy and leadership role." So the fact that the Gallup Poll shows that the public does not understand where school funding comes from "disturbs" him.

> *In reality, 48 percent nationally of the cost of educating children comes from local school districts, local taxpayers. Approximately 44 percent comes from state governments, and only 8 percent from the federal government. Yet 68 percent of the persons polled said they were satisfied with the level of support for education from the U.S. government.*

Stavisky gave a dramatic statistic on state contributions to education—New York State alone contributes more money on a state level and through local school districts than the federal government gives in aid to education in all fifty states. But, he said, we must remember that the public is not willing to raise taxes much for any service, including education. He cited a survey in 1977 conducted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations which showed that only 4 percent of the people believed that services and taxes should be raised; 31 percent said both services and taxes should be decreased, and 52 percent thought the level of services was adequate now and taxes should not be raised.

Sam Sava, chairperson of the session, commented that there was a question on the Gallup Poll about school board members. Despite the fact that school board members receive a lot of criticism, they were given high support on the poll. In response to a question, he said that copies of the poll were available from the Kettering Foundation in Dayton, Ohio. The poll was also printed in the September 1978 issue of *The Kappan* magazine.

William J. Saunders, Acting Assistant Superintendent, Washington, D.C., Public School System

> *"I believe that many times the public attitude toward schools is determined by the person they meet when they go into the school, be it the secretary, the principal who may be too busy to talk to them, or the teacher who gives them a short answer."*

William Saunders talked of the importance of the schools in the minds of the general public. The public's attitudes toward schools are determined by the way they are received when they go into a school. As a member of the National Youth Commission, Saunders found that black youth want to be challenged more and they want structure in their schools. But, he said, for many the public schools have not paid off.

> *For too many white and black youngsters, and I find it now increasingly at the collegiate level, they do everything they are supposed to do. They get good marks, score very well on the standardized tests, then come out and either cannot get jobs or are underemployed.*

Saunders also said that students should have a chance to work after school. "I am not so sure that advancing technology is worth the sacrifice we are paying in our young people," he added.

Samuel G. Sava, Vice President, Charles F. Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio

> *"This year we decided to go to the teenagers and find out how they feel about school. . . . One of the things we found was that young people want to work. You hear it said that they are lazy, but they really want to work. Jobs are not available."*

Samuel Sava reported on a Kettering Foundation study of one-parent families.

We find that if the one-parent family is headed by a male, his average income is about $8,200 a year. If it is headed by a female, the average income is $4,800 a year.

I think too many of us take the easy way out by saying that all you have to do is stress the three R's without recognizing the needs of that youngster. We now have enough evidence to show that unless a child masters her or his reading by the end of the first three years of elementary school, chances are that child will dislike reading and turn more and more to the tube.

Sava also told about another Kettering Foundation study which examined the demands on teachers and administrators.

We found that because of the demands from the federal government and all other sources, including state and local governments, out of a five-and-a-half-hour-day, teachers spend ninety minutes on formal instruction. The rest of the time they are either filling out forms or the children are going to the cafeteria or lunchroom. If you want to improve the quality of education in schools, you need to look inside them and see how time is really being used. . . .

He commented on the recent poll of attitudes of American Youth Toward Schools. Although the Gallup poll is ten years old, this year is the first time teenagers have been asked about school. The poll showed that young people want to work, despite all the talk about their being lazy and not caring. But the jobs are not available. An overwhelming majority of young people are willing to perform community services such as working in hospitals, or recreation centers, or parks.

They give the schools a more favorable rating than do adults. Fifty-five percent of the youth responding give the schools an A or B rating, while only 36 percent of the general population gave the schools such a rating. Four of ten young people say they enjoy going to school very much; only one in ten reports enjoying it very little. Surprisingly, Sava said, approximately 50 percent of the youth interviewed do not think students have to work hard enough in school or on homework.

Discussion

Saunders underlined the point that young people have faith in the schools by telling of an unfortunate remark made by the mayor of the city about a school in Washington. The students strongly defended the school and the Mayor indicated that he would visit the school, when possible, and apologize to the students.

David Ashe asked if, when the Gallup Poll is conducted, the people selected randomly actually have any contact with the schools?

Sava answered that the respondents are broken down into three groups: (1) those with children in the public schools; (2) those who do not have children in the schools; and (3) those with children in private or parochial schools.

Ashe then asked about the 36 percent who gave the schools a favorable rating and how that percentage broke down.

Stavisky reported that 36 percent was the overall average; 31 percent of those who had no children in school gave the schools a favorable rating; 51 percent of those who had children in public schools did so; and only 23 percent of those with children in private and parochial schools gave the public schools a favorable rating. So, the respondents who know the public schools best through direct contact give the schools a more positive assessment than either those who have no children in school, or those who send their children to nonpublic schools.

Ashe commented, "Unfortunately, though, it's not that 51 percent [who have children in public schools] who elect legislators who then determine how much shall be allocated for education. . . . One of the difficulties we face is that there are more and more attacks on public education with people running away from the schools, not because of what they know is going on, but because of the general climate, and the result is smaller budgets and the schools are even less able to deal with their problems." Ashe stated that the news media were responsible for the fact that people really don't know what is happening in the schools. He suggested that organizations like the National Urban Coalition should "try to get the news media to present the positive aspects of the schools."

Daniel Neusom, from Toledo, Ohio, a former junior high school principal and assistant superintendent of schools, told of a statewide committee for tax reform in Ohio to make it possible "to save some of our very serious and difficult districts from deficit operation." Although the people do like the schools, the decreasing population makes a national approach to school finance necessary, Neusom observed. Toledo schools were closed about a year ago because in Ohio the state auditor audits all the school districts and, if a district is going to have a deficit, the schools are closed enough days to make up the deficit, Neusom explained. That year Toledo schools closed three times—because of the deficit, a teachers' strike, and a blizzard. The superintendent was replaced, a new board elected and a school levy passed. Now there is a 4.5 million surplus. "I think [the surplus is there] because the people have a reason for wanting to keep the schools open. They finally woke up to the realization that this is our most valuable resource. I guess in the American system we have to have a crisis before we realize that it is time to do something," he concluded.

Stavisky commented that there is a popular movement to cut taxes, the Proposition 13 movement. "My colleagues and I very rarely get letters from anyone, including the advocates of public education, saying, 'Don't reduce the taxes. Use the money instead to save some of the programs that are about to be butchered in the schools.' I think it is important that the advocates of education recognize that we cannot have it both ways. We cannot remain silent when billions of dollars in tax reductions are being proposed."

Stavisky also told of a survey prepared by the National Conference of State Legislatures for which he serves as Vice Chairman of the Education Committee. The survey questioned chairpersons of education committees in the various state legislatures about their views on education. Stavisky discussed surprising responses to questions on compensatory education and bilingual education. The question was asked: "On a priority of one to six, where would you rank compensatory education programs?" Only 19 percent of the group gave these programs highest priority; 30 percent placed them in the lowest categories. Bilingual education was even less favored: only 2 percent of the education committee chairpersons ranked bilingual education in the highest classifications; 87 percent ranked it in the lowest.

A participant from Newark, Alfred Waller, spoke of the need for active advocacy on the part of the people who support education. "I got a very strong feeling [with the legislature] that they were always waiting for the people to approach, rather than their being advocates. . . . In Newark we are going through some very, very critical times. We are almost at the point where we are going to have to close schools, where they are talking about cutting out the frills—arts, music, and things like that. The buck is passed up and down the legislative hierarchy in terms of fiscal responsibility; and the people are turning out in reaction to the lack of credible performance from the people they assumed all along had the best interests of their children at heart."

Carol Lyon spoke briefly on three issues: homework—"After children spend six hours a day in school, that is enough. When they come home, they ought to have some time to play; and the kids said they wanted homework. I don't believe a word of it. . . . " Lyon said she had seen no evidence that homework has any correlation with grades or achievement. She went on to say that the reason the public doesn't know what's going on in the schools is that often the schools, including parents' organizations, don't want anyone else to be involved in school activities. The third question she raised was about discipline in the schools and whether there really is a problem. "I don't see kids killing each other in the hallways in the schools I visit," she said.

Stavisky responded with a question: "Would you believe that there were 3,000 assaults on teachers and assaults on students totaling many times that in a single school system—in one city, in one year?"

Saunders commented on discipline: "A very small percentage of the students present discipline problems." On homework: " . . . I believe that older children should have homework to help expand their horizons, but it [homework] helps the parents of small children to become a little more interested in what is going on in school."

Sava observed that there is "no correlation between learning and homework when a youngster has an assignment, goes home, and there is no one there to help with it. You do see a tremendous amount of improvement when the parent helps a child with homework." There is evidence to show that homework is valuable in relating what happens at school to what is done at home, Sava said.

Amelia Ashe challenged Sava's statement on the one-parent home and its effect on children. "I am not sure there is much research showing that it is any better or worse for children." She went on to describe her dissertation which dealt with students in college prep programs who were rejected by every college to which they applied; then they went to a center and reapplied and got into college only because they found a place to go. "I found that 15 percent of the sample I had—that had to register with a service and go very far to college and pay much more money—came from single family homes with relatively low incomes. I thought that was a rather startling statistic, so I went out and tried to find what the national rate of single family homes was and it was pretty much the same, about 15 percent."

Stavisky noted that there were two questions on the Gallup Poll which had to do with family type. When asked: "Just how much or how little does your child enjoy going to school?" 51 percent of one-parent family respondents said their children enjoyed school very much, while 62 percent of two-parent family respondents said their children enjoyed going to school very much. The second question was: "As a parent, how much time do you usually have to devote to your youngster in the evening to assist him or her with homework? Enough time, not enough time or none at all?" Of one-parent families, 58 percent said they had enough time, while 66 percent of two-parent families gave that answer. "So there were measurable distinctions, not as great as we might anticipate, but they were measurable, at least in the sampling done by the Gallup Poll," he concluded.

Sava referred to a major study underway at the Kettering Foundation. "In single-parent families, headed by females, we have found (and this is a surprise), that because of the amount of attention that a male requires from his spouse when he is around the house, when he is absent the woman has that much more time to devote to her children. . . . The difference is money; if they cannot survive and if they have to hold two jobs and if that is a constant worry for them, that has an impact."

Saunders returned to the issue of school funding and stated that advocacy for school funds is hampered because "the public is basically ignorant of the way in which funds are received. Perhaps those of us who are interested in our young people have to begin to ask the state legislators to spread the word a little more."

Stavisky agreed and referred to a booklet, "The Money Maze: Finding Your Way Through the Educational Funding Network," published by the New York Urban Coalition. It suggests going only to federal sources of funds although those sources represent "only 8 percent of the pie." The booklet meticulously lists various grants available but never suggests going to the state legislature when state aid formulas are being developed, or to the Board of Estimates, or to City Council meetings. "I think that is a mistake," he stated.

Donald Frey asked: "Has the Gallup Poll asked or does it anticipate asking questions that would get at the issue of support for nonpublic education? . . . Some polls with which I am familiar, the Roper Poll for example, say the public does not support aid to nonpublic education; and presumably there is a real gap between the public's views and what the legislatures in some states regularly do and what Congress almost did last year."

Sava answered that the Gallup Poll has not dealt with that particular issue.

Stavisky commented: "When there isn't all the money in the world, when the public commitment of public tax money for the public schools is being cut back, which is the primary responsibility of government to fund? . . . Do you spread your very thin resources even further? . . . The issue of the voucher system seems the wrong issue at the wrong time. . . . "

Bettie Benjamin, a lawyer, said that many of her cases are domestic relations cases. She expressed interest in learning more about the difference in the amount of time the single parent can give a child and whether that correlates with achievement. "I wonder if we could refine that to the point where we talk about whether that single parent is male or female and how much time they can give and if that affects the child's achievement level. . . . I am from the old school and I think custody should go to the mother . . . and I wonder whether or not a mother might be able to nurture a child better than a father could."

Neusom responded by recounting his successful experiences as a single father. "I think a father can do it if he wants to take the time. When you go into these divorce courts, and I mean no disrespect to the learned bar, whether you are male or female doesn't say how much you like your child and how ready you are to sacrifice one way or another. I think it really should be decided on an individual basis."

Session 7

"Back to the Basics: What are They?"

Robert W. Blackburn, University of California at Berkeley

"Will the schools, by emphasizing basic education, be screening out more children and, later on, be less pleased that they did so because of the social implications? What went on under the banner of open, or progressive, or child-centered education that was, in fact, effective and which is now at risk?

Bob Blackburn spoke of hanging on to the educational pendulum, in his own educational career, as it swung from progressive education in the thirties and forties to basic and conservative education in the fifties, then back toward a more humanistic approach. Now the "Back to Basics" movement is in full swing, but it is not always clear what it means, according to Blackburn.

Is there a kind of post-sixties exhaustion reaction against a time when schools were given ten minutes and $10 to solve every historical, political, economic, racial, cultural, social, medical, environmental and linguistic problem in our society? . . .

Do we have in the basic education movement a disguise to justify limiting curriculum and thereby to reduce school budgets, particularly for guess what kids? Or what Carl Holman said last night: "Is it that for some people, a frill is what is good enough for their children, but not right for yours and mine?"

No one can argue the need to stress reading, writing and math skills, but what other skills are also basic, and are they the same for every child at the same time? Along with minimum competency testing, competency-based education, we've got more and more testing and testing and testing. Some say that's going to make it necessary to teach to the tests so kids can perform well on them.

Why do so many educators who work for public school systems sing one song at staff development meetings and conferences (like this one sponsored by the National Urban Coalition) about their grave concern about conservatism and so forth about basic education? And then they ship their kids off to tough, yes, even authoritarian private schools.

Margaret W. Jones, Director of a pilot project at the Receiving Home for Children in the District of Columbia

"Whenever the question is asked, 'What is basic?' the answer from adult education is that basics are those skills necessary for survival in today's complex society."

Margaret Jones began by telling of a 1973 study by the adult education department of the D.C. Public Schools of the skills needed for adult learners. It was decided that the course of study had to be relevant to the needs of adults who frequently must make decisions. "Adults, as well as children, must be able to make comparative decisions because today's society allows for more choice. . . . We've got to make choices by being able to read the ingredients, read the prices, and compare the ounces."

Jones listed the five general areas of competency which have been defined as necessary for making one's livelihood effectively today:

1. Occupational knowledge designed to develop a level of competency which will enable adults to secure employment in accordance with their individual needs and interests.
2. Knowledge of community resources to help students understand how such resources are utilized in society and how these resources are maintained to preserve society.
3. Knowledge of government and law designed to promote an understanding of the rights and responsibilities of individuals and groups in a society.
4. Consumer education designed to teach the management of individual and family finance.
5. Knowledge of health care to ensure good mental and physical health for the individual and family.

Jones discussed briefly how she used these same modules in her work with children at the Receiving Home, not always successfully, largely because the children are there for limited periods ranging from twenty-four hours to a month.

. . . It has been interesting and rewarding to watch the response of many of these so-called "incorrigibles," many who have high reading levels, maybe low math levels or vice versa. They responded very enthusiastically, for example, when they finally realized that there is a reason for having learned the four math functions because they will use all these math functions in computing their wages, if they're ever employed.

Bob Blackburn introduced Wendy Pham, an eighth grade student from San Francisco, and noted, "Wendy has been in this country for three years. She came to this country from Saigon, Vietnam, speaking no English whatsoever. Because of the existence of certain 'frill' programs like bilingual education and ESL teachers who find the time to work on an individual basis with students, Wendy got some assistance. I think it's made an incredible leap forward in her own academic program because of these little 'expendable' programs like bilingual/bicultural education and ESL."

Wendy Pham, Student, Benjamin Franklin Junior High School, San Francisco, California

"Many of the students do not get their education in a few years because they do not pay attention to the teachers, and they do not do their homework."

Wendy Pham noted that her school has 750 students, 40 percent of whom are Asian. Of that 40 percent, 25 percent do well in school but the other 15 percent do not. The school started an after-school study hall for all students, and grades improved the next semester. The best high school in San Francisco, Pham said, was Lowell. "Many students were hoping that they would make it to Lowell, but it was hard to make it because of their math and English skills."

She told of coming from Vietnam three years ago knowing no English, then taking a class in English as a second language. "My teacher is Chinese [as is Wendy] and she's helping me a lot. I could learn from her very easy in a year." Pham commented also that her school has health education courses which attempt to reach those students who drink, smoke, and gamble.

Maria Santiago Mercado, Office of Minority Education, Educational Testing Service (ETS), Princeton, New Jersey, and Chair, ASPIRA of America

"Being Puerto Rican, having gone through formal education in this country in a ghetto in Brooklyn, having had the privilege of going to college in Puerto Rico and seeing another side of the world of my own community, was very enlightening for me."

Maria Mercado discussed her early education in a Brooklyn ghetto, then going to college in Puerto Rico and returning to the states "very angry at the many things I had lived with when I was a youngster and returned to."

She reported coming to ETS to direct a Ford Foundation doctoral fellowship program for Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Indians. After the project was completed she was asked to stay on at ETS.

This campus that they call ETS needs to start putting some focus into its activities as it relates to minorities. . . .

At our office, we have been working on trying to define for ourselves where we, as a staff of about six to eight professionals and support staff, could impact most upon nation building from within, and share as much information as we can with the community outside as to the whole phenomenon of assessment and testing.

Mercado noted that she works with a committee "that finally got it up front that college boards can't be the only criterion" for admission to college. Then the problem was to get a committee together to monitor certain situations to ensure that college boards weren't the only criterion. Then the focus was on "What types of skills do you want to share and develop in a person?"

Most of the states now are adopting minimum competency testing programs. "The organization with which I work is in the forefront, and it will be a very lucrative involvement for them," Mercado said.

Some of us are very much concerned as to how that is going to affect a youngster who has already been damned as a result of twelve years of inadequate preparation for dealing with testing instruments such as that. . . .

I believe very wholeheartedly in individual instruction, in taking people and having them move, and then being able to compare themselves with where they were back at a certain time. I feel very, very strongly that we must be able to define to our youth, to our parents, and to the educational system where we want to arrive.

The problem, according to Mercado, is that no one defines where we want to be. "It's a dilemma when I look at minimum competencies."

I do believe in the three R's, in reading, writing and arithmetic. I do believe in assessment as a process, not to sanction, not for purposes of comparison, not for evaluation of teachers solely, but as an integral part of an education process. . . . I would like to say that, though we must handle the three R's, there are so many other things. . . .

But then I look at the ghetto I come from and I look at the kids who are in the ninth grade and reading at the third grade level, and I look at the resources in teaching. I think, if at least they give my kids the three R's, they're going to surface.

Mercado believes changes can be made, "But I think we need a lot of parents; I think we need a lot of informed young people and advocates such as the National Urban Coalition."

Discussion

Blackburn commented on Mercado's talk: "I sometimes think that the Minimum Competency Movement, which is obviously, as you've said, a full employment program for people at ETS, has those kinds of values. I think when a sufficient number of state legislators' children do not come up to minimum competency, we will see a pushing aside of those requirements. . . ."

Evelyn Levine, a former twelfth grade teacher in Long Island, now director of communications at the NUC, discussed her experiences and asked how a teacher could cope with twelfth grade students in a track system, many of whom were not going on to college.

"When I tried to teach the track III students I tried to find out where they were and test their reading. Their attitude was: 'We're the dummies, we don't have to know.' And when I tried to talk to the administration about what to do with some of these people, they said: 'Do whatever you want. Just be sure they pass. You can't have more than a 5 percent failure rate. We're not interested in the rest of it.' So I tried to use class time for job interviews and letter writing and things that might help them later on. . . . If there were ten kids who at least could be helped by some sort of training to go on to work . . . it was the only thing I could do, and it was very frustrating. And the other thing I found that was worse was—and I'm sorry if any of you are teachers—the teacher apathy at school. Their attitude was: 'We have tenure. We don't care. If we are not getting our raise, we are going to strike and that is it.' "

Mercado commented that working with twelfth graders, many of whom are the products of the inadequacies of the educational system, has to be the challenge of the next few years. We have to "meet the challenge of creative alternative types of placements and educational processes" or we will lose the whole group. "Right now, they are literally being channeled. There is no assessment," she said. "I would love to see community-based organizations take on challenges like that because until now . . . we have not looked at post-twelfth grade—other than college or career placement situations—as a challenge."

Blackburn commented on the points Levine had made about twelfth graders in a track system. "There are a lot of factors that put those youngsters in your classroom at that point, and it's kind of like doing emergency room surgery. . . . It's their last chance. . . . So an enormous amount of energy has to go into it, and it's hard to get people's attention because these kids have no prestige, no social standing, no political clout. Their parents have been programmed not to be involved by the twelfth grade, and they have settled. . . ." In the elementary grades, Blackburn continued, these parents might have thought they had a right to participate, but by high school "educators have pretty well persuaded them it is none of their damn business."

Pat Watson commented: "I found that public secondary schools in Washington could not, would not, and did not seem to want to communicate with parents." As a teacher she saw much teacher apathy, but also much hard work being done by teachers. Because of the lack of communication with parents, and because it wasn't possible to change a child from one teacher to another, Watson moved her children to private schools. She added that if you can show due cause you can change a child's teacher. "I'm not a lawyer. I just know some little law, and if you have due cause of a teacher harassing a student and if you press them hard enough, they will move the student."

Jones recounted an experience she had when her daughter, entering the sixth grade, asked not to have a particular teacher. "Very seldom did she dislike anyone; my daughter is a pleaser. I went to the principal of the school and said: 'Mrs. Blank, please do not place my daughter in Mrs. Blank's room. She has high blood pressure. Her physician says A, B, C, D, E.' " But, Jones said, the principal then asked the teacher to make the decision; the teacher called Jones to ask why; and Jones' daughter said, "Drop it. I'll try." She added, "I gave that example to say what so many parents go through, but they cannot move that child because the principal, whoever is in authority, will not take the responsibility for making a decision."

Jones returned to the theme of the session by posing the question "How did this 'Back to the Basics' movement come about?" She stated, "I went to school in the south, in the 'separate but equal' learning system. I think that my children got a more inferior education than I did in my separate unequal but equal system. And I'm wondering if a lot of it had to do with teacher attitudes. The expectation was there that you were going to achieve. . . ." She concluded by saying, "Attitude may be one of the keys to any basics."

Evening Session

January 25

"Turning the Schools Around: Making Accountability Real"

Bernard C. Watson presided at the evening session where Keynote Speaker Nat Hentoff discussed the issue of school accountability. The session closed with a performance by the Douglas High School Stage Band from Baltimore, Maryland.

Nat Hentoff, Staff Writer, *Village Voice*, New York City

> *"I think despite the kind of falsely comforting self-image we have as a child-loving nation, I doubt we are. It's not in our literature. It's not in what happens in schools or what happens with parents and children. . . . I don't think we ever loved children. And now, we dislike them even more because they're so damned expensive."*

Nat Hentoff commented on the fact that in cities like New York and Newark, funds for education have been cut "because this administration is not giving enough money to the cities."

> *I am not going to dwell on the politics of education except to say what is obvious anyway; that to attempt to really turn schools around is a political move. . . .*
>
> *For every billion dollars we spend because of our commitment to NATO—that same billion spent in education would hire 76,000 teachers, which would reduce class size.*

Hentoff said the focus of his speech would be on indications that fundamental change is possible in education. He talked first of a teacher named Gloria Channon who wrote *Homework* and the truth of the statement she made there: "The children come to us in the upper grades; their negative self-images firmly fixed. They think they are dumb. When you talk to them about this feeling, you find a deep chasm exists between their experiences of success and this confirmed faith in their own stupidity."

Hentoff then discussed what happened at an elementary school in Brooklyn on the edge of Crown Heights where the reading scores "were significantly ahead of the reading scores of all the other schools in that general area." The school population was 81 percent black, 6.6 percent Puerto Rican, a fair number of Haitians, Japanese, and 1 percent white. Most of the parents were on welfare or earned so little that their income was supplemented by welfare.

The reason for the school's success, according to Hentoff, was the principal, Martin Shore, "who looked like an accountant, who said of himself—with a certain kind of pride, which I never quite understood, but with a deadly accuracy—that he had no charisma at all." Hentoff reported that Shore tried to get parent participation but didn't use the lack of it "as a copout."

> *Then he said regardless of what happens or has not happened at home, so long as we have the kids here in this school, we have to do our best. If a child has been taught to read at home, we're that much ahead. If he hasn't been, our responsibility is to teach him to read here.*
>
> *And in that school, the kids were reading by the end of kindergarten.*

Hentoff described the way Robert Shane turned the George Wingate High School in the South Bronx around. Wingate was plagued with the usual discipline problems, including "a brisk commerce in drugs" when Shane took over in 1970. Now, Hentoff stated:

> *Wingate is reasonably free of disciplinary problems. Even the bathrooms are used, as the principal says proudly, only for what they're supposed to be used for. The drug bazaars have disappeared; truancy has decreased. Average attendance there now is 78 percent. That's not much compared to, say, Bronx Science or Stuyvesant, but it's a lot better than most other high schools in New York.*
>
> *And what I find significant, while college used to be a pipe dream for most of the kids there, more than 80 percent now go on. What makes that statistic even more impressive is that two-thirds of the kids entering Wingate are as much as two years below grade level. . . .*

How was it done? Hentoff answered:

> *. . . The kids had to be motivated to learn. Teachers and supervisors had to understand that if they did not stop treating the kids as losers, they'd have to leave. And, as Shane puts it, "No one wants to hang out on the streets for the rest of his life. No one wants to be a drifter or on welfare. I mean some of the kids may say they want to do this and that out of bravado, because they feel helpless. But show them something of value they can learn in school and they'll react, but it has to be real and you have to demonstrate to them that the teachers will work for them."*

Shane's method at Wingate was one that Kenneth Clark had tried to introduce in the Washington schools "and was lucky to survive physically," Hentoff said. It was to emphasize reading in every classroom, no matter what the subject matter. Shane's success was also due to the fact that "there were some teachers he didn't want and they decided to retire. He said, 'I gave them a certain amount of encouragement.' "

> *As the kids really began to want to learn, the teachers began to want to teach. They reinforced each other. . . . Until the last few years, many teachers at Wingate felt that working in minority schools was hopeless and so they didn't do anything. Now they're so involved with the spirit there that many of them even volunteer to staff tutorial programs after school. . . .*

Hentoff acknowledged that the examples he gave were not the norm—"But why are they so rare and need they be so rare?" he asked. He quoted the new chancellor of the city school system, Frank Macchiarola, as saying in his recent mid-year report to the New York City Board of Education:

> *We have not only tolerated mediocrity, we have developed, congratulated and promoted it. . . . Too many of our students are being failed by the system; too many of those who should be serving the system are only serving themselves. There is no escape from the fact that the job of teaching requires greater talents and abilities than many of our teachers presently possess.*

Hentoff believes that the first indication that Macchiarola's "allegiance may possibly be to kids and not to personnel," came in July 1978 when he denied tenure to seventy-nine principals and assistant principals. But even Macchiarola, Hentoff said, didn't deal "with teachers who ought not to be in the classroom" in his report. There is an increasing number of cities now moving toward renewable certification of teachers. But in New York, Hentoff noted, "anyone who survives a classroom for three years gets tenure."

> *. . . There are indeed a number of splendidly resourceful and resilient teachers in the public schools. There are also many, though, who are either dead as instructors or, for whatever reason, unable to reach black and Hispanic and Chicano, whatever, kids. In most of the cities those kids are now decidedly in the majority.*
>
> *This is not a simple question of racial matching. I've seen whites work with kids in Harlem as if they were all at Groton, and I've watched black teachers be as meanly obtuse and spirit-crushing as certain white instructors. But the point is teachers of particular temperaments, and I won't begin to even define it . . . but you know it when you see it and hear it and watch it. . . .*

Hentoff commented on the fact that by 1982 there will be 125,000 fewer students in New York City's elementary and junior high schools. There will be one-third fewer students in the high schools. The number of teaching jobs will also decline, but those who go will be from the bottom of the seniority list. "Left in place will be the older teachers; those longest accustomed, with exceptions, to being failures and turning kids into failures."

Hentoff discussed the ways in which students were blamed for their failure to learn . . . "the poor product rationale." If there were tenure review, he believes, the blame would fall on the schools, not the students. He pointed to the Mastery Learning approach of Benjamin Bloom of the University of Chicago: "It encompasses quick, precise diagnosis of each child's learning weaknesses and then, immediate, intensive work outside normal classroom hours on clearing them up. . . . Tests are given every week or two to find out if the deficiencies are being taken care of, so no child keeps falling behind." Mastery Learning is being tried in eighty Chicago schools, Hentoff reports, and Michael Cadmus, coordinator of the Chicago programs, says: "The students are learning more, trying harder, enjoying the instruction more." Hentoff believes the emotional effect of Mastery Learning on students may be "overwhelming" because they will learn that they can succeed if they try.

Hentoff quoted Claude Ballinger, executive director of the Denver Classroom Teachers Association as saying: "I think the eternal question always is. Is public education as we know it today for every child?"

Ballinger and a rather large number of other education professionals who think like him, have that eternal question quite wrong. It should be, is public education as it ought to be and can be for every teacher now in the system? And the answer is, No. It is obviously not geared for every teacher, as you can see by looking at the wasted detritus they're responsible for. And those who harm children, however unwittingly, by convincing them they cannot learn, ought, at the very least, to leave the classroom.

But it is difficult to get the political support necessary to really hold people accountable, Hentoff said. He noted what happened to Bill Hall, community superintendent of District 5 in Central Harlem. "About two years ago when he took the job he found not a single principal in the district had been evaluated for years." He began evaluations and recommended denial of tenure for three principals. In the school headed by one of the principals, according to Hentoff, "82 percent of the kids did not read at grade level." The result of Hall's action was "a concerted attempt by the board, which has now been suspended by Macchiarola, to remove Hall. I think he has been removed about fourteen times, in part because of this; in part because some board members were friendly with some of the principals there, and in part because Hall would not play the patronage game the board had been used to."

Hentoff then spoke of his experience at the court-related unit at the Bronx Children's Psychiatric Center for violent adolescents.

To get into that unit, you have to have committed murder, rape, a certain kind of arson, and other extremely aggravated offenses. It's the only place in the country I know of that is seriously trying to deal with these kids, to find out in diagnosis, then to work in terms of therapy and group therapy and family therapy and job training.

The unit is expensive because the youth are taught in groups of four or five. All had dropped out of schools and were convinced they could not learn. But with understanding teachers, they were learning, Hentoff reported, and changing.

One of the psychiatrists there said that every one of them told him that nobody cared whether they left school, didn't leave school, whatever. . . . The schools had never picked up the simple physiological things that were wrong with them. It was as if they had been in school but had not been there. . . .

But the New York State Senate has voted against continuing the unit because of the expense, Hentoff said.

He went on to discuss ways in which Chancellor Macchiarola is dealing with some of the problems of the school system. He lowered class size in the first grade and hopes to extend the change to the second grade. He is providing special classes in basic skills for children who were not promoted. He stopped the "pernicious" practice of social promotion.

Only a third of the children eligible for these special classes were enrolled this year because of a shortage of funds, Hentoff observed. Macchiarola also is seeking money for 110 more attendance counselors, to provide intensive remedial work for high schools because of the competency test which means that "7,000 kids from nowhere are not going to graduate." The chancellor had included more money for guidance counselors—at present there is only one guidance chancellor for every 1500 students in elementary school and one for every 1400 in junior high. "I'll grant you there are some guidance counselors who can barely guide themselves, but there are some who make a difference," Hentoff said.

So now we have Ed Koch deciding that, because of Carter, he's going to cut nearly $100 million from the board of education budget. That's 61 percent of the total cuts he wants from the city, obviously more than from any other agency.

Although people are mobilizing now to fight the cuts, chances are that Macchiarola will not get the money he needs for the changes he recommends, Hentoff believes. He quotes the chancellor as saying that society has turned against children. Hentoff said: "I don't think we ever loved children. And now, we dislike them even more because they're so damned expensive."

Discussion

Dudley Rucker of New York City asked: "There are thirty-two local school boards and many are racist. How can Chancellor Macchiarola help the citizens of New York City to eliminate racism and religious intolerance in public education?" and "Why is there such a small number of ethnic teachers, although the vast majority of students are black and Hispanic?"

Hentoff replied that a small percentage of black teachers were being employed when cuts in funding came. As last hired they were first fired. He added that one of the key criteria Macchiarola could use, as he evaluates principals and assistant principals, would be "the percentage of black and Puerto Rican and Haitian assistant principals moving up." It would require community pressure from the *Amsterdam News*, from Carl McCall, a state senator, and from Representative Charles Rangel, among others. But Hentoff doesn't think the chancellor will move without pressure.

On the question of racist school boards, Hentoff said such school boards should be sued under the Civil Rights Act, but he doesn't think Macchiarola will do that "unless someone pushes him very hard."

Third Plenary Session

January 26

The third plenary session, held on Friday morning, January 26, was chaired by James A. Kelly of the Ford Foundation. Keynote Speaker Mary F. Berry spoke on "Financing Public Education: Why Is It Worth the Cost?" Following her address, Bernard C. Watson and Charles S. Benson discussed investment and disinvestment in public education.

"Financing Public Education: Why Is It Worth the Cost?"

Mary Frances Berry, Assistant Secretary for Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

> *"We all know that the growth period following World War II has come to an end. This painful reality must be accepted. Yet it is imperative that we reject the notion that public education has lost its importance and should be subjected to the cutbacks in the provision of public services at the state and local level."*

Mary Berry referred to the drop in public confidence in education and to the fact that education matters to people if they believe "it makes a difference in their lives and in the lives of their children." Despite the common perception that there is a lack of confidence in education, several recent polls give conflicting data on public attitudes toward education.

> *A CBS News poll reported that 41 percent of all adults today feel education is worse today than when they were in school; but 35 percent think it is better and 16 percent think it is neither better nor worse. So a total of 51 percent believe education is no worse than when they were in school.*
>
> *A September 1978 Gallup Poll revealed that 36 percent of the people rate their schools as satisfactory, a drop from 48 percent in 1974. This poll also found that adults with children in school felt better about the schools than those who do not have children in school. This worries us, because as our population ages, increasing numbers of taxpayers do not have school age children and are therefore less interested in supporting public education, if we believe this poll.*
>
> *A recent NEA survey found that 75 percent of the people in the country expressed a great deal of confidence in education and in the teachers.*
>
> *Data collected by the National Center for Education Statistics reveal that parents at the local level believe education is adequate compared to other services. Only 4 percent thought the schools were inadequate.*

Still people oppose spending more for public education, Berry reported. The cost of public education has increased 150 percent in the past decade—40 percent if corrected for inflation. But student achievement as measured by college admissions tests has declined, and large numbers of high school graduates are listed as functionally illiterate, Berry continued. She referred, too, to the thirty-five states which have started competency testing. Teachers are being criticized on a variety of issues—for being less dedicated; spending less time in preparation and in classrooms; for not giving homework; for being too permissive; for giving too few writing assignments; for unionizing and for striking.

Berry said that schools are expected to solve problems of drug and alcohol abuse, vandalism, teenage pregnancy; they are blamed for failing to teach children basic skills and so on. At the same time, "the underemployment of the college educated calls into question our traditional belief that one of the greatest values of education is its direct correlation with better jobs, higher wages, and upward social mobility."

> *. . . We are being responsive to legitimate concerns regarding federal spending and are finding ways to allocate and manage our resources—the taxpayers' resources that we control and send out—more efficiently while still serving the educational needs of our citizens. And I assure you that our commitment to federal support for education remains undiminished. We will continue to focus on providing access to a quality education for those who have been excluded in the past. That means minorities, women, the handicapped, those with limited English language abilities, and the like.*

Berry stated that because the amount of money spent per pupil in central cities is usually much less than in the suburbs, the administration proposed "the new concentration emphasis in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary School Act to give more money above that already provided to urban school districts for poor children." The request was for $258 million in 1979 although the bill "was only passed and signed by the president in November." The full authorization is for $400 million in 1980.

Another new provision in this legislation, Berry reported, is that 50 percent of state funds under a specific part of this act must be used for compensatory education. This provision is in addition to Title I and the concentration factor and includes summer bridge programs, parent education for home instruction, teacher retraining and the development of materials for use by parents in the home. The 1980 budget request for this program is $146 million. The bilingual education program has been refocused, and a $174 million request is being made for that in 1980.

Berry mentioned the Cities and School Project being funded by the Office of Education and five other federal agencies to "integrate the delivery of social and educational services to inner city families." An evaluation of that program by the National Institute of Education (NIE) has also been funded. NIE is funding other evaluations to see what makes a good school under a whole area of emphasis called "Schools at Work." There is continued funding of Jesse Jackson's Push for Excellence, Berry noted. There is an Urban High School Reform Initiative which the Office of Education is implementing. "There have been conferences in ten major cities for parents, students, school and government oficials and researchers to assess the strengths and needs of high schools in those areas," Berry said. Participants at these conferences reported that they believe urban high school problems can be solved.

Berry observed that the states must equalize the funding for education within the states if urban education is to be improved. "Another part of our new legislation gives money to the states, to assist them in developing and implementing plans to revise their systems of financing education, and we also have a number of data collection and research activities we are funding to help them," she added.

She reported that Congress has asked HEW to do a three-year comprehensive study of public and nonpublic elementary and secondary school finance and to report to the Congress the measures the federal government should take to ensure equal financing for the nation's schools.

> *We have also been very concerned to reduce the burden of excessive paper work, to reduce fraud, abuse and error in our programs, because we think this will give us a dividend of extra resources that we can put into programs that do work. . . . But the reduction in paper work does not mean the reduction in accountability for federal funds.*

Berry then discussed demographic factors relating to the school population which affect the budget. The school age population is estimated to be 11 percent lower than in 1970; another 10 percent decline is possible in the next decade. Yet federal spending for elementary and secondary education increased 25 percent between 1970 and 1979, Berry noted. There is an increase even when the amount is adjusted for inflation.

> *The population decline only makes it more important that we maintain a targeted approach, that we emphasize helping special populations and meeting special needs, and that we make it clear that we are not about to reduce the amount of money simply because overall student numbers are reduced, or about to be reduced; but that what we want to do is to continue to focus our efforts on fully funding the children who are in greatest need.*

Berry pointed to the Department's higher education programs where the approach is also targeted "even though we funded the Middle Income Student Assistance Act to benefit middle income students but also to defeat the tax credits efforts." But Basic Grants, Basic Education Opportunity Grants, at $1,800 are also being fully funded for the lowest income people.

> *We hope to make it possible in our 1980 budget for us to say, for the first time, that any students who need aid to enroll in a post-secondary institution can receive a package of aid that will take care of all their needs. And then we will have achieved our goal of access to higher education.*

Berry listed programs for the disadvantaged, the Title III program which goes to black colleges, and a new Biomedical Program for junior and senior high school students to interest them in the medical sciences, then to keep them interested in high school, and in undergraduate school, "so that we can do something about the decline in minority applications to medical schools." All in all, she believes that the Administration's budget "represents a significant federal effort and investment in education of children in urban school districts."

> *I believe that the consequences of disinvestment in education would be devastating to our society. As the public education system suffers cutbacks, the schools will be forced to continue eliminating the so-called "frills," and we know what those are—anything that has to do with cultural enrichment, the arts, music, or language, and in some cases sciences and even humanities programs. Which means that parents who can afford to will remove their children from the public schools in ever-increasing numbers, and we will then be faced with more rigid class distinctions than have existed in our schools since the nineteenth century.*
>
> *Black and Hispanic students represent over half the student population in the public schools in most of our major cities. Needless to say, they will be most severely affected by disinvestment. Class stratification thus will exacerbate racial and ethnic segregation. So disinvestment in public education could mean the complete failure of any opportunity for desegregation. . . . Because the education offered by the public schools then will be necessarily inferior to that provided by the affluent private schools and academies, minority urban youth will be further deprived of educational and employment opportunities.*
>
> *So if the public education system suffers further cutbacks and cannot adequately educate its students, the unemployment rate of these young adults will exceed the present disastrous rate.*

Berry concluded by comparing educational investment in this country to that in other countries. The rates of return are higher, in general, in developing countries, "because they have so much farther to go." Berry pointed out that there are wide differences in the costs of education in various countries, and some studies indicate the total burden of such costs is lower in the U.S. than in Canada, and about the same as that in Norway and Sweden. Costs in France, Germany, Japan, and the United Kingdom are about 2 percent less than in the U.S. She stated that more important than dollar amounts spent on education in other countries is—Who is benefiting from education? "Unlike the other industrialized nations of the world, we have a system of education which is supposed to benefit the many, not just the few." Now 78 percent of American students graduate from high school. And American students, in tests among seventeen-year-olds in secondary schools, placed fifth on a literacy test among sixteen industrialized nations, "even though we try to educate everybody and they are only educating an elite group."

"The role of education in the past and the benefits which we have reaped as a nation still provide the best testimonial for its importance as the source of fulfillment of the American dream," Berry concluded.

"The Social Costs and Benefits of Public Education"

Bernard Watson, Vice President for Academic Administration, Temple University, Philadelphia

"Blacks entered into a romance with education even before they were emancipated. It is commonly known that blacks in this country, even in the most repressive days, when opportunity was almost nonexistent for the masses, viewed education as an opportunity for upward mobility and for a chance to participate in this society."

Bernard Watson commented that in addressing the issue of the social costs and benefits of education, many people place primary emphasis on hard data.

> *But it also seems to me that certain kinds of values, certain returns are not amenable to the kind of standard analysis to which we generally subject whatever field. . . . I will deal with some data in my presentation, but I am not interested in, nor do I intend to, try to reduce this subject to a kind of economic analysis.*

No index has been developed, Watson said, to measure the "quality of life." He traced attempts from Hoover's administration to deal with the nation's "well-being." In the 1960s, the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress "established by Public Law 88-444 the responsibility for assessing and identifying the impact of technological changes on human needs." In its report, the Commission noted the absence of any system to chart social changes and recommended the creation by government of a "system of social accounts which would indicate the social benefits and costs of investments and services." In 1966, President Johnson directed John Gardner, then Secretary of HEW, to develop a way "to improve the nation's ability to chart social progress."

In 1967, then-Senator Mondale and ten of his Senate colleagues took a step in the same direction by introducing Senate Bill S-843, called the "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act of 1967." It provided for an annual social report, a Council of Social Advisors, a Joint Committee on the Social Report. The bill was designed to "encourage such conditions as will give every American the opportunity to live in decency and dignity, and to provide a clear and concise picture of whether such conditions are promoted and encouraged in such areas as health and education."

> *The fact is, a number of people have long recognized the need for some system of social indicators, some way of measuring what happens to citizens of this country as a result of public policies and investments, to see whether or not those investments promote equality of opportunity, promote upward mobility, and in fact are designed to provide for American citizens those things which our documents say we should be about in the public policy area.*

Watson asserted that it was difficult to establish a direct relationship between education and benefits to society.

> *Statistics tell us some things. They tell us that well-educated parents tend to be in the higher paying and higher status jobs, and well-educated parents tend to produce well-educated children.*
>
> *. . . Statistics tell us that, regardless of race, one's educational attainment correlates highly not only with participation in certain kinds of criminal behavior but also with the rate of incarceration.*

He went on to cite National Assessment of Educational Progress reports that have found that among all communities, "students who perform best were from big city schools with a large percentage of parents in professional or white collar jobs." Those who perform worst are from the same schools but "with a large percentage of parents who are either unemployed, on welfare or are poorly educated."

Norwell Northcutt, Watson said, found in his study of adult illiteracy that there is a high correlation between education, employment, and income. Another educator, Wilbur Cohen, "noted that the dichotomy between education as the underpinning for other disciplines on the one hand, and the low regard in which it is held on the other, is a continuing dilemma."

But, Watson went on to say, there are certain obvious and widely recognized benefits which result from educational investment. The costs of education are equally obvious. When a choice must be made between costs and benefits the predicament is real.

> *The predicament is further complicated by the fact that more often than not, costs can be tangibly felt by society, but benefits are often intangible and cannot be identified except on an individual basis. . . .*
>
> *The United States today is the most technologically advanced nation on earth. In the world order, the U.S. gives far-reaching benefits which are a critical part of the impetus for developing nations. There is no question either that Americans have the*

highest standard of living, are the best fed, the best educated, and the best housed citizenry of any throughout the world despite the differences between the different classes.

In addition, our citizens live longer, they are healthier, and possess a variety of other riches. And surely the brains, the skills, the creativity, and the performance of those who are responsible, at least in part, came out of our educational system. And we try to educate everyone.

Then Watson turned to the social costs of inadequate education as illustrated by the black experience—the lynchings, the bombings, riots, hostile confrontations and the significant residue of hate, distrust, and polarization. He traced briefly the denial of education to slaves and to the freedmen after emancipation. He referred to the inferior Jim Crow education blacks were given in the South. In the North and East, the schools were better, but still not adequate.

Lack of adequate schooling combined with the rigid and demoralizing patterns of discrimination in employment, housing, and social interaction guaranteed that most blacks would be mired in the lowest socioeconomic strata, occupy the worst housing, receive the poorest medical care, and have the least influence in the political life of their communities. Maintained over generations, this system insured that the cycle of poverty, low life expectancy, inadequate nutrition, smoldering resentment, and repressed rage would continue and be repeated.

Watson explained that only after six million blacks migrated from the South to northern, western and eastern cities did the social costs of discrimination become clear. "The painful legacy of years of inferior schooling became obvious."

Tensions were created and exacerbated. Black youngsters who were in the seventh grade in southern, segregated, inferior schools found themselves placed in fourth or fifth grade classes, or worse, when they moved north or east. Resentful and frustrated, they reacted with sullenness, truancy, dropping out, or subjecting themselves to incredibly hard work in an effort to cope with the new reality. Unable to find employment, either because of discrimination or lack of skills, or both, they became a drain on the social services wherever they lived as their plight helped to create and expand the welfare mess. And such a condition made it logical that they would survive by whatever means necessary. Now the social costs were visible to everyone.

This experience of blacks "appears to be happening again, not just with blacks, but with a group of people . . . the 'underclass'—young people, out of school, unemployed, without skills, and without hope," Watson said. They are almost invisible and their numbers are growing, he added, and warned that they represent a great danger and great cost to the society unless something is done to help them.

From the beginning blacks had a romance with education; they viewed it as an opportunity for upward mobility, Watson continued. Education offered one of the few opportunities for social benefits:

They turned out some superbly trained, educated, and qualified people who then transferred those benefits to hundreds of thousands of other people who came through those black colleges you are all trying to help save. These colleges trained, until recently, about 80 percent of the blacks who had baccalaureate degrees in this country, and who constitute a major leadership group in this country.

Watson then referred to, and endorsed, the twelve social benefits of education that Faustine Jones had listed the previous day. He emphasized that the social benefits of education must be explicitly stated, and the public must be made aware that it receives from, as well as gives to, education. "An important benefit of education is its ability to transfer societal values, and educational institutions play a vital role in this process although our record of performance in this area is mixed," Watson said. A sound education does not avoid questioning values, he continued, rather it can "assist individuals immeasurably in this complex world to find the kind of inner direction so that sound and moral decisions can be made."

The contribution of education to this effort has never been more urgent as we see the world drawing to two unsavory extremes: on the one hand, a dehumanizing collectivization of body and spirit; on the other, a self-indulgent, anarchistic hedonism. In our society with its increasing differentiation and separation along economic, social, racial and ethnic lines, public schools can, and should serve as laboratories for the development of tolerance, understanding, acceptance, and ultimate appreciation of, and respect for, the diversity of our culture.

"School Finance Reform and the Cities: What Went Wrong?"

Charles S. Benson, Professor of Education, University of California at Berkeley

"Essentially, it has been the human side of children's services that has been hit hardest [by Proposition 13]. *There are fewer supervised programs for pre-adolescents, reduced hours at facilities, and a narrower range of activities."*

Charles Benson began by saying that his talk would not be devoted to hard data. "I have ridden the hard-data wagon and I keep falling off, and I am off now." Moreover, he said, analytical methods in the social sciences are not adequate yet to plan social policy.

Benson believes that the prosperity in this country since World War II has not been good for the cities which now serve "as a storage bin for people who have no productive role to play in the market economy."

New York City is more like Karachi and Calcutta and Bogota in terms of the economic welfare of its people than it is like Paris, London and Stockholm. Yet we are a rich country. We have buried our riches in investment in the good life in the suburbs. There has been a corresponding process of disinvestment in cities.

Benson pointed out that investment means delayed gratification—giving up present satisfactions for future ones; it also means choices among alternatives, as does disinvestment. The drain of resources from the city has left an undeveloped area in the midst of an otherwise expanding economy, he stated. The major resource of this area is its pool of low-wage labor.

Urban education, in too many instances, exists in an environment of deterioration, an environment of run-down houses where the outdoor life of children is crowded onto asphalt and concrete pavements, and where adult morale is depressed by very high rates of unemployment.

Benson observed that urban education has not changed since 1969 and, despite what has been written about the reform movement in educational finance, the schools are still deteriorating and middle class families still move to private schools or the suburbs. "It is the particular kind of school reform we have perfected" which is responsible, Benson said.

I do not speak of reform measures having to do with school integration, but the reform effort that led to, and was followed by, the Serrano *case. In a prior case,* McInnis v. Shapiro, *the plaintiff group was made up of needy school children. The court complained it could not make judgments about relative needs of students. In* Serrano, *the plaintiffs were, in effect, low-wealth school districts. Cities, by and large, are fictionally high-wealth districts. Hence, great concentrations of low-income children in central cities become miraculously a privileged class from whom resources were to be withdrawn for the benefit of middle income children living in residential, suburban districts.*

The result is that, from 1972 to the present, San Francisco's basic school budget has been held to a rate of increase far below that of inflation. Real expenditures per student in New York City for instructional services have fallen in absolute terms during the '70s, Benson reported.

In 1977-78, two years after the enactment of New Jersey's school finance reform measures, which had required the imposition of a state-wide income tax, Newark spent 4.1 percent below the state average and 4.5 percent below the average in its county, Essex. In 1974-75, prior to reform, Newark spent 17.5 percent above the state average, and 5.86 percent above Essex County.

. . . In some instances, state-local financial policy in education has undermined the expressed intent of the U.S. Congress to give priority of concern to the disadvantaged, the handicapped, the bilingual child. . . . So far, the federal government, although more progressive and more productive of revenue than our state-local systems, has been unwilling to put sufficient dollars behind its educational priorities to overcome the perverse distortion that state-local finance systems create for the children in our central cities.

Benson noted that it is the human side of children's services in California that has been hit hardest by the Proposition 13 tax revolt. The traditional commitment to a wide range of after-school services in inner city schools is threatened. "This may, in part, reflect recent demographic trends and changing social attitudes toward the young. Since there are fewer children to serve, so the logic goes, it is reasonable to offer them less," he continued. The Proposition 13 movement raises questions of equity, Benson said. Children from poorer families are more dependent on the free services of the public sector than are their middle-class peers.

As landowners, corporations, and homeowners reap the benefits of Proposition 13 through significant reductions in property taxes, those parents who rely most on the public sector find they have been compromised in two ways: there are fewer services for their children and, because they are less likely to be homeowners, fewer of them realize a real income adjustment that could enable them to utilize after-school services of the private sector, if they were so inclined.

Benson commented that California pioneered school finance reform, Proposition 13, and in 1980 it may be the first state to set up a statewide voucher system. Middle-class families are moving back to the city now either through boredom or because it is too expensive in the suburbs. "Call it gentrification if you like it, and displacement if you don't, the return flow of the middle class to central cities is not accompanied by a reinvestment in central city schools," Benson warned. So vouchers will make it possible for these parents to cover the cost of private school education for their children.

Benson also maintained that disinvestment in central city schools has not destroyed the intellectual base of these schools. The distribution of achievement in New York City was bimodal—many high achieving students and many low, but few in the middle. Benson reported that recent studies in Oakland, California, show that children of low income parents do well in school, and many children of high income parents don't do so well. "Our data also indicate that many low income parents appear to exert much greater effort in behalf of their children than do middle class parents," he said.

Benson discussed the high unemployment rate of minority youth—47.8 percent, 8.1 times the majority male rate. A very high percentage (67) of black high school graduates are employed in occupations which require less than a high school degree.

. . . The fact of these high rates of unemployment for youth in central cities, and the fact that the jobs available to central city youth are not those offering advancement, are not those clearly based upon learning in schools as separate from acquiring habits of discipline, are conditions which discourage youth and represent a kind of disinvestment in urban city education that we ought to think about more. . . . They withdraw themselves from hard study because they see in the lives around them that the society is not willing to accept what they have to offer. They need encouragement.

Benson warned of a closing-off of opportunities in higher education also as a result of the tax revolt. "Students who attend a community college have not been able to benefit from the federal aid program as

much as students at four-year colleges, he explained. Now there are indications that tuition may rise at community colleges. "So leapfrogging the unemployment program by getting higher certification is also a path that is becoming increasingly difficult to follow."

He suggested a defensive and an offensive strategy for the people of central cities.

> *The people in central cities should resist and defeat conscious and subconscious signals from teachers and administrators that minimize the educational potential of central city youth; they should resist and defeat the school reform movement in its efforts to drain school resources from central cities into the suburbs; and redirect the school finance reform movement toward the needs of low income students.*
>
> *They should resist and defeat the privatization of schools through vouchers and tuition tax credits.*
>
> *They should resist and defeat efforts to deny universal access to higher education for youth in metropolitan areas by charging tuition fees and by other means.*

Benson believes the solution is in strengthening the economic base of central cities because "school improvement in the absence of the availability of jobs cannot be sustained. The trick is to obtain reinvestment without gentrification."

> *I would like to say that we need not only more jobs in central cities, but better jobs, jobs less characterized by hierarchical structure, jobs that have meaning toward quality of life, jobs in which content and ends are subject to worker control. But I am not so idealistic. Let's just settle for jobs, but let's also recognize that the public mood in this country is such that we cannot expect any large number of jobs to be created from public funds.*

As a major element of offensive strategy for cities, Benson suggested "a national industrial siting policy." Such a policy would require that all firms holding assets over a certain specified amount (he suggests $1 billion), be required to justify any plant expansion or relocation in terms of its effect on employment in central cities. The firms would be required to file a report similar to an environmental protection report "with the intent that plant locations be in central cities or on an existing public transit route within an hour's commuting distance from the central city."

> *A second major component of an offensive strategy is subsidy for youth employment. If no other funds are available, the subsidy should be paid by central city firms and financed by holding back part of the state income tax, personal and corporate.*

Finally, Benson said, the public is not eager to re-examine social policy toward urban schools. They are more inclined to blame the students and their families for low achievement. This is why there is the new stress on proficiency examinations. Benson called for a "recommitment to the ideals of our country and a retreat from easy answers that allow us as a society to absolve ourselves of responsibility for the children of our cities."

Discussion

James A. Kelly, the moderator, commented on Benson's remarks about site location:

> *The United States is the only advanced industrial nation that does not have a formal and rather effective national policy on site location of major industry; a policy geared, within the political system of each country, to social and governmental purposes.*

John Dobbs commented on industrial siting and spoke of a recent attempt by General Motors in Detroit to move to the suburbs. The City Council rejected the move and the matter will be resolved in court. He asked if labor should be included in site decisions.

Benson agreed that site decisions should require the joint action of business and labor. He added that the problem would not be so great if the unemployment rates were low. "But it may be that we are for a long stretch of trying to control inflation through unemployment. . . . And what we're asking here is if we can not have full employment, can we have a redistribution of unemployment?"

Gerda Steele of the NAACP directed a question to Berry on the use of vouchers and the project the government funded in California dealing with the voucher plan. She noted that the NAACP is opposed to a voucher plan, "so I want to know whether there will be any more such funding of voucher plans in other parts of the country."

Berry replied: "I was about to say that we would not fund any voucher experiments, but since I've been in HEW almost two years, I know that the bureaucrats over there fund a lot of things that they want to fund and I never even know about them." She referred to the School Finance Project that instituted studies mandated by Congress to be done over a three-year period. There is a national Advisory Council from outside the Department "to tell us what studies should be done and how we should go about doing them."

Kelly clarified a point about the voucher action being discussed in California. It is a draft of an amendment to the California constitution. Signatures are being collected on petitions for a referendum in June 1980, the next time statewide initiatives to amend the California constitution can be on the ballot. California's school system is "the largest universal, tax-supported, compulsory elementary and secondary education system," and it is undergoing a major upheaval. "I think it is important for everyone who cares about the institution and the benefits and costs of its services to pay close attention to it and think through what their position is on it, and speak out on it," he stated.

Aaron Campbell asked Mary Berry if there are plans for federal assistance to minorities in inner cities to provide adequate preparation for college admission in other areas where minorities are as underrepresented as in the biological sciences.

Berry answered that the biomedical program is new and was included in the educational amendments of 1978. The funding for it will be $3 million in 1980. As a part of the Upward Bound and Talent

Search Programs, there will be a special emphasis program for students in fields where minorities are underrepresented. It will operate in high schools and at the undergraduate level. The budget for Upward Bound and Talent Search is $130 million in 1980. Another program directed at fields where minorities are underrepresented is the Professional Opportunities Program. It focuses on increasing the number of minority students in physics and engineering at the graduate level. In 1976 the program was started with a $4 million budget; the budget will be $15 million in 1980.

Dudley Rucker asked why the leadership is leaving the cities. He said that there is no leadership in places like the Bronx, "to bring meaningful jobs, meaningful houses, and quality education back to the city."

Watson discussed some of the reasons for these conditions: "People leave the cities for reasons of their own which generally relate to economic self-interest. . . . The kind of movement you described occurred primarily as a result of some public policies which went down in this country following World War II. It is not an accident that the suburbs grew up outside the central cities after World War II, but it is precisely because federal policy permitted the underwriting of 100 percent of the developmental houses in noncity areas. . . . They became primarily white, and they became middle class . . . because of the financing policies of the institutions which provided the money for the developers. . . . The kind of conditions we are talking about in education here grew out of economic, political, and social factors which decide how the educational system is going to be constructed and operated."

Carl Holman added, "When the people in the cities begin voting without a Rizzo in the way they registered and voted in Philadelphia because of Rizzo, those conditions will start to change. When, in addition to that, we stop thinking that we are powerless, maybe other people will not be so convinced that we are powerless."

Concurrent Sessions

January 26

The seven concurrent sessions held on Friday morning were devoted to discussions of various aspects of public school financing and finance reform.

Session 1

"Vouchers and Tax Credits: New Models for American Education?"

Alan Ginsburg, Director for Elementary and Secondary Education, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

"With regard to federal compensatory education programs, which are major programs for disadvantaged children, we now find that there is evidence that children in these programs are beginning to make the learning gains that would be expected if they were learning at the average rate. We are able, through our programs, to prevent retardation and begin to get children to catch up."

Alan Ginsburg began by asking why the concern for private education now? There was a similar push for tuition tax credits in early 1970 when private school aid was before Congress. There was not much support for such action although private schools were in deep trouble then. Now, Ginsburg said, people say there should be aid to private schools because they are in financial trouble, because they have enrollment problems, and because they cannot survive without public aid. He cited figures to show that the private schools were having difficulties in the early seventies but that by 1973, the enrollments began to level off. By 1977, enrollment in private schools had increased as a percentage of total enrollments. "So the demands for aid to private institutions, both at the state and national level, come at a time when the prospects of the private schools are a lot brighter than they have been."

The argument is also made, Ginsburg noted, that private schools are playing a much more important role in the education of low income and minority populations. These are groups which cannot pay full tuition costs and need state or federal aid. Although there is some truth to this contention, the number of minority children enrolled in private schools rose only from 4.9 percent in 1970 to 5.8 percent in 1977. Yet 21 percent of whites in center cities were enrolled in private schools, over four times the percentage of blacks enrolled.

Ginsburg pointed out that concerns about public education also result in increased interest in private education. These include the belief that the quality of education is declining, that public schools have become so costly that they are wasting taxpayers' money while the private schools are doing a better job; and that programs to promote equal opportunity have not worked well. He referred to public attitudes toward education as reported by the Gallup Poll and the fact that almost the same percentage of parents who sent their children to public schools felt positively about them in 1977 as in 1974. "Most of the dissatisfaction with public education was among parents who send their children to private schools or among those who had no children at all in school."

Ginsburg then turned to the question of test scores and stated that elementary school children did a little better on tests in 1977 than they did in 1970. The problem of declining test scores is in the high schools. Various reasons are given for the drop; a Carnegie Founda-

tion study attributed it to breakup of families, to the fact that women are working, and to television. There is also some evidence, Ginsburg said, that the public schools themselves are a part of the problem. A part of the difficulty is that the schools have diversified the curriculum—between 1970 and 1974 the number of students in secondary schools taking reading and math dropped about 25 percent.

People also criticize the schools because costs have risen so fast. Between 1967 and 1977, the rise was 158 percent, somewhat less than the rise in expenditures for higher education, and much less than the rise in health and welfare costs at the state level. Despite criticism of teachers and unions for salary increases, Ginsburg noted that salaries for education increased at about the same rate as salaries for other public services, but the ratios of teachers and administrators to pupils have grown rapidly.

He then discussed the effect of equal education policies. "There have been substantial gains made with respect to reducing racial isolation in southern schools." But in the North there is probably a higher percentage of children attending predominantly minority schools now than there was several years ago. Ginsburg then noted that school districts which have the highest minority concentration spend about 8 percent more than the average in their states for schools. Districts which have the poorest children spend about 6 percent more than the statewide average.

> *The public school system hasn't done all that badly with respect to the distribution of resources to minority children and poor children. When we consider private school plans, we have to be very sure that they won't lead to greater discrimination against poor and minority children.*

On the question of quality education, Ginsburg reported that evidence now indicates that federal compensatory education programs are helping disadvantaged children catch up. Minority children are now staying in school longer. The number that had four or more years of college tripled between 1970-1977, but the percentage is still less than that for whites. Ginsburg reported that studies by the Rand Corporation show that the returns from education for minorities are as high, if not higher, as they are for whites.

On the question of voucher and tax credit proposals, Ginsburg stated that voucher experiments like that at Alum Rock, California, are much more complicated than many people believed. Parents have some trouble with such programs; teachers need central support for training and staff development; true diversity of programs is difficult to achieve.

> *The kinds of programs that research is beginning to find that may work (and there are a number of alternative school programs coming out of public school systems) provide a good deal of central direction, a good deal of teacher training and teacher support. They provide parent information programs. There is a lot that can be done with expanding choice in the public school system.*

Donald Frey, Associate Professor of Economics, Wake Forest University, Winston Salem, North Carolina

> *"What does the existence of a strong nonpublic sector do to the integration efforts of the public schools? Essentially, even if nonpublic schools serve some minority students, if there is a disproportion in the ratios, the growth of the nonpublic sector, which would occur with a tax credit, is going to make integration of the public schools more difficult."*

Donald Frey explained that, although there are technical differences between tuition tax credits and vouchers, they are alike in reducing the amount of tuition a parent pays for sending a child to private schools. Congress showed considerable interest in a college tuition tax credit and later in a tax credit for elementary and secondary education. Frey said that the arguments favoring college tuition tax credits deserve scrutiny. College costs have not risen faster than other costs. Another argument is that middle class enrollments have decreased in proportion to all possible enrollments. But Census Bureau data do not support this contention.

Public opinion polls, according to Frey, report that aid to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools is not popular with the public. Many of the arguments in favor of tuition tax credits are made on the basis of statistics for private schools alone, without considering the population in the public schools. One argument is that enrollments are declining in the private schools, but this decline has been halted.

Frey stated that the nonpublic schools do serve minority and low income students but less than the public schools do. The evidence is fragmentary, but it appears that the private schools have as much of a problem with integration as do the public schools. The growth of the private schools will make integration of the public schools even more difficult.

Tuition tax credits, Frey said, will lower the price of private education, and they will increase enrollments of private schools. As enrollments drop in the public schools, parental and voter support for public education will also drop. Data from New Jersey show that if you take all the students in a district and control for certain relevant variables, each percentage point shift out of public into private schools reduces the average per pupil expenditure in that district, (at least in that sample) by $3.50.

Discussion

A participant noted that the 20 percent of white students enrolled in private schools are likely to be middle and upper class. "I suggest that the same thing would happen with minority populations as they went up to 20 percent also. The only thing that would happen would be that the schools would be further drained of whatever leavening there is to assist the poor student in learning and making it."

Frey commented that no one has really determined whether tuition tax credits would change the proportion of minority students being served by nonpublic schools. He believes it is quite possible that the number of minority children enrolled in private schools might decrease.

Helen Moore, Education Consultant, Stanford Mid-Peninsula Urban Coalition, Stanford, California

> *"We are looking at the possibility of establishing two school systems. The fall-out from the scholarship schools, of course, will go to the public schools, because the public schools are still the free schools and they do not have any admissions criteria."*

Helen Moore discussed the "Family Choice Education Initiative" in California which has been proposed as an amendment to the state constitution. The authors of the initiative are two law professors at the University of California at Berkeley, John Coons and Stephen Sugarman. It is a type of voucher system and is based on the economic concept of the free marketplace, Moore explained.

> *The basic assumption is that the parents will actively exert their*

power of choice to make the educational system responsive to their needs or to their benefit and that, in turn, the educational programs will be more diverse and will have to compete for the financial resources the families will have at their command. . . .

The initiative will offer parents control and choice of schools, Moore said. The authors suggest the establishment of three types of schools:

Public schools that are publicly owned, administered, and operated or financed. These would be very much like the present public schools.

Public scholarship schools, publicly owned and administered, but financed through the voucher or scholarship.

Private scholarship schools that are privately owned and administered and funded through vouchers.

Every child of school age in California would be eligible for a voucher, and the assumption is that parents would take this voucher and secure the type of education they think is relevant to, or will benefit, their children.

Moore noted that although Coons and Sugarman indicate that poor families would have the same opportunity to select and attend schools as rich families, the schools would be able to determine their enrollment capacity. "There is no reason why at a certain level a school can't cut off the enrollment, and thus preclude other people from coming." The initiative provides that "students attending any public or private scholarship school may continue in such schools unless incapable of deriving substantial benefit therefrom." Moore asks who will determine if they are deriving substantial benefits?

She also questioned the provision that the legislature will "provide for information to parents in regard to the types of schools." Many urban parents may not have the kind of educational information needed to make such decisions, Moore stated.

All in all, there are some very interesting assumptions made in this initiative and some crucial things could happen. What it does rather than offer a choice of different educational alternatives is to establish two classes of schools—the public schools and the scholarship schools. The name "scholarship schools" is interesting and suggestive, especially since paragraph 5D indicates that, if you are incapable of deriving substantial benefits, you cannot attend that scholarship school.

John W. Baker, Associate Director, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C.

"Tax credits are inequitable and regressive. Taxpayers at the lower income levels would receive benefits at a rate far lower than their needs, while taxpayers with middle and upper level incomes, without pressing need for financial aid, would receive the maximum tax credit."

John Baker explained how the value of tuition vouchers is generally determined in the plans which have been proposed—"the public dollars available for financing education are divided by the number of school children to determine the individual child's pro rata share of the whole. That share, in the form of a voucher, is issued to each child who uses it, to purchase an education at either a public or a non-public school."

Although the idea of tax credits is not new, it was only in the 95th Congress that a serious effort was made to grant tuition tax credits against federal income taxes owed. Both houses of Congress passed a version of a tuition tax credit plan although the actions were opposed by individuals and a coalition of thirty-two organizations, the National Coalition to Save Education. The proposals died in the conference committee, but already six tuition tax credit bills have been introduced in the 96th Congress.

It is my hope that neither tuition vouchers nor tuition tax credits/deductions will become a model for publicly financed education—not because they are no longer new but because they suffer from serious public policy defects, and because they are either directly or potentially in conflict with the separation of church and state required by the religion clauses of the First Amendment.

Baker believes that nonpublic schools should not be supported by public funds and that any program of financing nonpublic education which would be socially divisive or would weaken the public education system runs contrary to sound public policy. "Tuition vouchers, because they would make the establishment of a school to satisfy the desires of any splinter group economically feasible, would create a divisive multiplicity of school experiences for children," he said. Baker listed other public policy defects in the tuition tax credit proposals:

1. Tax relief they provide would do harm to existing education funding, and the tax relief is marginal.
2. Tax credits are real money expenditures even though they do not appear as a line item in a budget. "If tax credits, which are not need-based, are substituted for need-based educational grants, the burden would be borne by those least able to pay."
3. Tuition tax credits would give private elementary and secondary schools—the overwhelming majority of which are religious—a substantial advantage over public schools in recruiting and retaining students.
4. Tax credits are inequitable and regressive. "Taxpayers at the lower income levels would receive benefits at a rate far lower than their needs while taxpayers with middle and upper level incomes, without pressing need for financial aid, would receive the maximum tax credit."

Baker referred to a case decided in January, 1979, in the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, *Public Funds for Public Schools of New Jersey v. Byrne*. The court affirmed a Federal District Court's decision that New Jersey's provision for a $1,000 annual deduction from gross income for every child enrolled in a nonpublic elementary or secondary school was an unconstitutional establishment of religion. Of the 753 nonpublic schools in New Jersey, 714, nearly 95 percent, are religious schools.

Such a decision would seem to put a serious cloud on tuition tax credits, as well as on tax deductions for sending children to nonpublic schools, because the ratio of religious to secular nonpublic schools in New Jersey is approximated throughout the country.

Baker noted that the Supreme Court has established a three-pronged test to determine whether legislative acts are consistent with the establishment clause of the First Amendment: (1) there must be a secular legislative purpose; (2) the effort of the legislation must be neither to promote nor to inhibit religion; and (3) the legislation must not excessively entangle the state in religion and must not be divisive

along religious lines. Congress may not constitutionally do by indirection that which the Constitution forbids it to do directly, Baker said.

Tax credits to taxpayers whose children are enrolled in schools which are permeated with religion, or vouchers used to purchase education in one of these schools, have the effect of aiding religion in that they make the taxpayer a mere conduit for public aid to religious schools—aid which cannot be given directly or indirectly.

> *Tax credits to those taxpayers who pay tuition to religious schools, or the use of vouchers to pay such tuition, trigger excessive administrative entanglement of government and religion.*

Discussion

Baker was asked to comment further on tuition tax credits to religious schools.

He referred to a case pending in the Supreme Court, *Catholic Bishops of Chicago v. The National Labor Relations Board* (NLRB). The argument was that "the NLRB does not have jurisdiction over these church-related schools in that they are permeated with religion."

> *The church was caught in a very interesting bind of having to argue that they were religiously permeated and that they were operated for religious purposes, knowing full well that this argument then works against them in any argument that they are not religious and therefore are entitled to public funds.*

A participant commented on the condition of private schools in the Bay area of California. There the private schools are constrained by the fact that they have no capacity "to further capitalize themselves to dramatically increase their enrollments and share their alleged wealth. I see them taking in a small number of current public school students from those families most able to play the calliope of public policy." Moore was asked what would happen if only public schools went on a kind of voucher or scholarship schools basis.

She replied: "It seems that it might be an additional burden for a parent who is not really into the education thing in terms of following what is going on in the schools. . . . Any choice that is made would be on the assumption that the child is going to get an adequate or quality education. So the initiative takes the focus off universal quality education and really focuses on the choices a parent can make. . . . "

The participant noted that school location would be a major factor in a parent's choice.

Moore agreed: "Exactly. We don't know what limitations will be placed on transportation. We also don't know if we're talking about arrangements across district lines. . . . "

The participant stated that the voucher system would seem to shift responsibility for conducting the schools to the private sector. Moore was asked whether the control, the pressure, the influence that the public sector can wield on the schools would not be taken away under the proposed initiative.

Moore stated there was some evidence of that at Alum Rock, California, where mostly minority families were involved. "One of the outcomes was that the parents did not exercise the choices as the program was planned, and the impact on the system was slight. . . . There were some changes in the original plan. In the end there was more of an open enrollment situation as opposed to just neighborhood schools. So a child in the district could go to any school in the district with a voucher, but there were a number of constraints on the kind of educational reforms initially conceived. . . .

"There are some unanswered questions. There were principals who objected to the schools; if they did not have a number of children interested in enrolling in their schools, it meant they would lose teachers, and ultimately the school could close. . . . What do you do with the teachers? Do you buy out their contracts? If they have tenure, you don't fire them. In the experiment, NIE subsidized those teachers so they weren't faced with that kind of situation. . . . "

Another participant commented on five years of research on Alum Rock carried on by Gary Bridge of Columbia University. "He found that the level of parent awareness, if there were a choice program at all in a district, varied significantly with income level, socioeconomic status, and education of the parents of the children in that district. I think that's a very important thing to consider when you talk about creating a choice system and providing an information system and trying to make choices available to different segments of the population. It's very difficult to do."

A participant who works with parent groups and the National Committee for Citizens in Education (NCCE) asked if any effort were being made to get information about voucher and tuition tax credit plans to parents in California "so they can act before, rather than after the fact."

Moore replied she knew of no efforts to do this, but there soon will be a debate on the initiative. If it is to be on the June 1980 ballot, there must be 500,000 signatures this spring or the legislature must put it on the ballot, she commented.

Ginsburg was then asked what was being done by HEW to provide information across the country.

Ginsburg referred to a three-year series of studies, mandated by Congress, on private schools. "We are starting a dissemination unit. We are starting a newsletter to try to tell people what's happening in the different studies underway. . . . Right now we're very remiss in terms of the kind of thing you're talking about. . . . I don't know anybody who does that really."

Baker commented that the Washington-based National Coalition to Save Public Education tries to work through its thirty-two organizations to funnel information to the communities.

A participant commented: "I believe that public education as it is presently constituted cannot provide good education for all children. Alternative education is necessary and I don't want to reject the voucher system entirely. Do you regard it as being at all feasible?"

Moore responded that there are ways of instituting alternative systems of education without "going the voucher route." The voucher system deals with financing. "There is nothing that stipulates or prescribes in any way the quality of education."

Ginsburg added: "There are a lot of reforms going on now which move in the direction of expanding choice within the public school system and holding it more accountable. One would be magnet schools which have frequently been associated with desegregation, but there is no reason why that has to be. One can have a variety of open enrollment plans tied to magnet schools. I mentioned school-site and school-building planning in California where you have both parents and teachers involved with the principal in terms of what goes on in the building, and presumably in exercising considerable influence over the curriculum. You've got a number of accountability devices which have been introduced, ranging from publishing test scores to minimum competency testing."

Session 2

"Proposition 13 and Public Education"

Arnold Munoz, Deputy Director, Office of Government and Community Relations, California Department of Social Services, Sacramento

> *"What [Proposition 13] means is that with the state now providing 75 percent of the money for education, you will see the legislature and other people dealing with this, putting their hands in the* massa, *as we say in Spanish, and stirring the pot more than we are now, because when they were providing 36 percent of the funding, they didn't think they could put themselves out there that much."*

Arnold Munoz stated that Proposition 13 created a massive revenue loss for California school districts amounting to about 36 percent of their total revenues. In July 1978 the legislature passed Assembly Bill 154, the "bail-out bill," which provided for moneys to be allocated in the form of block grants to the cities and towns replacing the $3 billion in lost revenues with $2 billion in state surplus funds. The net loss to the schools was approximately $800 million. Before Proposition 13, 36 percent of funding for the schools came from the state; after Assembly Bill 154, the percentage provided by the state rose to 75.

After the *Serrano* case was decided by the Supreme Court, Munoz reminded, the California legislature passed a bill providing three support bases for schools:

> *To equalize assistance to meet general needs and to offset variable costs among districts.*
>
> *To provide for the special needs of students who are educationally disadvantaged, mentally or physically handicapped, and/or limited or non-English-speaking.*
>
> *To provide for school improvement through cooperative efforts of parents, teachers and administrators working together as a school site council to meet the needs of individual students.*

The bill had provided $2 billion for the school system to equalize expenditures in compliance with the *Serrano* decision. The passage of Proposition 13 meant that the school finance reform bill had no effect; district allocations were reduced on a sliding scale approximately 9-15 percent, according to Munoz. All salaries in the districts were frozen; the special needs programs, assistance for the handicapped, non-English-speaking, and the educationally disadvantaged was cut 10 percent. Plans for school improvement, for school site planning, had to be revised and cut back. Funding at the State Department of Education was also cut 10 percent.

> *Proposition 13 appears to have blunted the stipulation of property tax equity associated with equal protection as outlined in* Serrano. *Now that state funds comprise more than 70 percent of*

school funds, spending disparities, which were once a function of local district variations in property, are worse and are unjust and unjustifiable.

Munoz explained that the constitutional revisions in the wake of Proposition 13 will mean substantial revisions in the way California finances its schools. It will have effectively adopted a system of full state support of schools which may eventually rise from the present 75 percent to 100 percent. Local government will have less control over the schools and "the balance between general aid and categorical funding will become increasingly important." On this equilibrium will depend the relative roles of the state and the family in making decisions about schools, he stated.

Munoz also believes there will be a new emphasis on equalizing educational opportunities. There will be increased attention to school efficiency since California will continue to spend $8 to 9 billion in its schools. The result will be much more state control with the state providing the great bulk of funds for the schools. "Very likely you're going to have all those nice battles between conservatives and liberals and fundamentalists in the legislature," he concluded.

Carol Gibson, Director of Education, National Urban League, New York City

"It is the black community and, especially in California, the brown community, which will suffer disproportionately from the gross reduction of the state budget in California."

Carol Gibson began by discussing an Urban League survey on Proposition 13 in five California cities. She characterized Proposition 13 as "the slickest form of racism, slick because the rationale behind the denial of services to minorities can easily be defended on the basis of lack of funds due to reduced revenues by those who would prefer to see these services eroded." It is biased class legislation because gains to property owners will seldom be extended to renters, whether poor or middle class, Gibson stated. Moreover, she pointed out, the use of income tax and sales tax windfalls to offset the losses of property tax revenues as proposed in California, is a regressive step which favors the upper income classes at the expense of the lower ones.

Gibson believes that the minority communities, especially blacks and browns, will bear the brunt of the gross reduction in the state budget.

It is through the deteriorating quality of life in these communities that we will see first and foremost the effects of legislation of this kind. The results are—poor school districts, inadequate health care and community services, and loss of jobs as the first fired.

Since the poor rely most heavily on public services, they will feel immediately the otherwise somewhat gradual impact of the legislation. The Urban League survey revealed that in July, 1978, some services were reduced—summer school programs, recreational programs, and library hours. Other programs added fees for services. Regional occupational centers, a very big program in California, were closed. These cuts were made even before enactment, Gibson said.

She commented on the fact that Proposition 13 advocates had tried to get votes from the anti-busing forces by saying that, if taxes are reduced, there would be less money for buses. But, she added, since the busing programs are federally mandated and often federally subsidized, "you weren't going to be able to cut back on the busing programs."

Looking specifically at Los Angeles and San Diego, one of the big problems we have had since September in those two cities which had mandatory desegregation programs this year, is to separate out the results of Proposition 13 and the results of desegregation in terms of moving patterns.

Gibson noted that in the wake of Proposition 13, there is a new citizens' movement to reinstate the old issue of a voucher system. She referred to the new ballot initiative, "Freedom of Choice," as insidious. Its argument is:

As a result of Proposition 13, the quality of education in the public schools has been or inevitably will be reduced. Because of the property tax windfall, middle class homeowners will have excess money. In other words, they will have enough money to afford a private education.

Heading the movement is a black dentist, and the black middle class "is really taking this argument to heart." She described Coons, one of the authors of the initiative, as "a liberal activist," and she believes the combination of black middle-class supporters and someone with Coons' credentials may put the initiative over, despite its questionable features. Gibson also noted that four black state legislators are introducing a school voucher bill in the Indiana legislature. They are responding primarily to the busing issue.

She believes that even more important than Proposition 13 is the Proposition 13 mentality which predates it. The challenge now is to make the whole issue of financing a grass roots issue. If parents are to become advocates, they must understand their stake in the issue which directly relates to candidates they support and how they use their voting power at the state level. "The battleground for us has got to be refocused at the state level in a way that it has never been before."

James G. Ward, Director of Economic Research, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C.

"I think one of the sad things about public opinion on this topic [Proposition 13]—not just in California, but in many other places, and, in a sense an indictment of our educational system, is that a lot of commissions show that people believe that taxes can be cut 10 percent, 20 percent, 30 percent, and even 40 percent without any cut in government services."

James Ward first looked at public opinion on Proposition 13 and its implications. He cited Merton Fields' California poll taken at the time of the vote on Proposition 13. After they voted, voters were asked how they voted and why. Four reasons were given most often:

(1) They thought taxes were too high.

(2) They believed that governmental waste and inefficiency must be cut.

(3) People felt property taxes were so high that many persons were in danger of losing their homes if something was not done.

(4) People felt that local governments can get by on a lot less money than they are spending now. Some believed that taxes can be cut 10, 20, 30, or even 40 percent without any cut in government services.

Ward believes this mistaken perception reveals a failure of our education system to show the connections between taxes and governmental services. Other polls around the country find it is a common perception that taxes can be cut without cutting services. When questioned about cuts, welfare is often mentioned as a target, although the same people may say they do not want to cut services to the poor, the unemployed, and the disadvantaged.

Ward cited the fact that in 1953 the average American family paid 11.8 percent of their family income in taxes; by 1977 the figure was 22.5 percent. Taxes have been going up faster than prices or wages.

State governments have been growing at a faster rate than any other form of government. Everybody rails against the federal government because they see it as full of waste and inefficiency. But the fact of the matter is the federal government has fewer civilian workers now than it had ten years ago, and federal government is not growing. . . .

An important factor in Proposition 13 thinking, according to Ward, was inflation and "the perverse effect it had on our incomes and on items we bought." Property taxes were high in California not just because the tax rate was increasing, but because of the speculation in housing. Another reason was the assessment system.

Home assessments were going up every year to reflect the effect of inflation on the home market, and many jurisdictions in California have actually been dropping their tax rates annually, but inflation was having such an effect on the value of property in those districts that the amount of revenue derived from the property tax has been going up.

A part of the general loss of confidence, Ward reports, is that people look at government programs, especially social programs and say, "They're ineffective. It's just throwing money away." Yet much has been done to improve program accountability.

He pointed out certain patterns which exist in the seventeen states that voted on some type of tax limitation last year. One is the easy referendum process. Another is a high local and state tax burden. (California is still a high tax state.) A third factor is tax imbalance—dependence on the property tax. Although California is a progressive state, its heavy dependence on the local property tax was not progressive. There had also been a rapid increase in the property tax in many of the seventeen states.

Perhaps the single most important factor in the Proposition 13 movement in California was the existence of a large state surplus, Ward believes. A year and a half before Proposition 13, it was well known that there was a large surplus. No one knew its size but, Ward says, government surpluses are a political, not an economic commodity.

Proposition 13, although not aimed primarily at the schools, will have a great effect on them because everyone is fighting for a share of a budget that has been cut. School people will have to be political if they are not to "come out on the short end." Ward referred to the criticism of the schools in Coons' and Sugarman's voucher plan.

I maintain the schools are doing a better job now than they've ever done before. We are educating more children, a more difficult kind of children to educate . . .

But we, as education people, need to go out and tell the public what we're doing and tell them what a good job we're doing, and we have to be able to prove we're doing a good job.

Ward said he believed accountability is critical. "One of our local affiliates, the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, is one of the first teacher unions I know that actually sat down in the collective bargaining process and negotiated an accountability plan with the school board."

He thinks there will be other attempts like voucher plans to put public funds into nonpublic schools.

I have some very serious concern about what that is going to do in terms of the quality of public education and in terms of the great strides we're beginning to make toward desegregation and in dealing with the special needs of children.

Ward criticized the foxhole mentality developing in some people in education. He said that the perception of the people that there is waste and inefficiency in government must be seriously addressed. One of the good things that has come out of Proposition 13, he said, is that people are concerned about public services and are building coalitions to seriously address tax reform. "We can never do away with the property tax," he added, "but we have to cut the overreliance on it."

We have to look at progressive new tax structures. We have to look at possible resources. . . . There's a whole area of intergovernmental fiscal relationships I think we need to deal with. Do you realize that if the federal government would take its responsibility for paying the full cost of what is a national problem—the problem of welfare—that there would be all sorts of money available at the state and local level for all kinds of programs, including education. Many groups are calling for the federalization of the financing of welfare for that reason.

Ward referred to the need for the federal government to aid cities like New York and Cleveland. He asked: "Why is Houston prosperous when Cleveland isn't? One of the reasons is that under Texas law and constitution, Houston can annex the suburbs whenever they want to keep the tax base high."

One of the good things that has come out of these school finance movements is the Levittown *v.* Nyquist *court decision in New York. It is the first state school finance decision that has recognized the concept of municipal overburden. That is to say that in cities, there's a much greater strain on the tax base because of the additional level of services that are offered in the city that are not offered in the suburbs.*

Ward recommended the building of political alliances—parents, teachers, labor, and management. "We have to understand where we can put pressure on the political system and where we have a reasonable chance for success."

Discussion

Joseph Wyke asked whether, since Hispanics are the largest group in the Los Angeles public schools, blacks are next, and whites the smallest, it makes sense to continue to be involved with busing. "Isn't California's problem a far more serious one than a matter of busing that minority of white children wherever you might bus them?" he queried.

Munoz replied: "I think these issues certainly need to be looked at, but we cannot allow all these peripheral issues to distract us from the

fact that we still need to concentrate on the whole issue. . . . For the past ten years we've allowed different movements to diffuse the original movement that we started back in the fifties and sixties, the civil rights movement. . . . I'm not answering your question directly, but I'm not sure I can. I think that is a question that would probably have to be answered by a superintendent of the Los Angeles school district. It's such a massive district. It has over a million students and 100,000 teachers. It's overwhelming."

Baker stated: "We have a responsibility. . . . We have to define education beyond the classroom and begin to work as hard as those who worked for Proposition 13 to better inform our community of what the impact will be on them. . . . "

Munoz contended that the problem is that the middle class has traditionally supported public education. Poor people often feel that education has done little for them. Rich people don't need the public schools. But now the support base of the middle class is gone because "they are seeing that what they want from education is not being given to them."

Baker added: "The people have got to realize that they are being manipulated by persons who have the money."

Jane Rivera said: "I'm tired of hearing about the middle class, the middle class. What about us? What about us and our children? Are they trying to keep us as ignorant as they can? I'm tired of it. We need to know what's going on and people like you are the ones who should educate us, you know. . . . I'm speaking for the majority of the people. Nobody wants to be on welfare. I've been there. I've been on welfare. I'm a Chicana. I'm a minority, poverty, you know? I'm not ashamed of it. I'm trying. My kids are trying. And they'll keep hearing about these poor middle class, overtaxed people. We're overtaxed, too."

Larry Horwitz responded by describing what happened in Michigan in the election last year. There was a voucher plan on the ballot, a Proposition 13 type of property tax cut called TISCH, and a relatively moderate Headlee proposal. Both the Headlee proposal and TISCH proposal were flooded with signatures. Labor was pressured to support TISCH. But, despite the defeatism, the Michigan voucher proposal lost three to one. Twenty-five percent of the voters in Michigan are Catholic, Horwitz reported, but a lot of them voted against the voucher proposal. The Proposition 13-type proposal lost two to one. The Headlee proposal, which the polls had shown would receive 75 percent of the vote, squeaked through with 52 percent, according to Horwitz. "I think this happened because we were finally able to tell a lot of people in the middle class: 'This ain't good for you.' I don't think you can run the fight on the basis of 'those rotten middle class people' who leave the central cities, who don't care no more, who are racist and bad folks and everything else—for two reasons. One, they outnumber us. Two, we is them."

Gibson asked Robert Singleton to comment on the discussion, adding: "It seems to me that what's different about school finance as compared to desegregation, is that there is not a national solution to school finance problems. When you say, 'Give us your answers,' the only answer is in your community."

Singleton answered, "The Supreme Court endorses your last statement; in the *Rodriguez* decision they threw the issue back on the states and said: 'You have to look at your own constitutions. If the constitutions do not support what you feel is the role of education in the state, change the constitution.' "

He added that he thinks the same thing is true of the Proposition 13 kind of issue. He urged that it be opposed. Howard Jarvis, the father of Proposition 13, "is not the California phenomenon anymore. He is running all over the country organizing taxpayers. . . . In the long run, he's against us all because, as Munoz pointed out, the middle class is listening, and maybe in Michigan you won this time, but that's not the last you're going to hear of it. . . .

"All you've got to do now is look at how your state's surplus, your state's tax burden, your state's inflationary rate look and how people are responding to them. Once you see those things, you can see whether you're vulnerable to a Proposition 13 test. And it will happen, believe me."

Munoz spoke of racial attitudes that underlie the Proposition 13 mentality. When Jarvis was asked early in his campaign, "Don't you realize that 13 will do away with a lot of jobs for minorities?" he answered: "I don't give a damn. . . . They are not the people I'm dealing with, and if affirmative action is reversed and thrown out, so much the better." Munoz said that one of the things we must tell people is that welfare is not just for "us folks," that white folks are 60 percent of welfare recipients. But they won't believe you, Munoz added.

Singleton commented: "The middle class saw the chaos that happened as a result of the depression. . . . Now we have developed tools and devices to keep the country out of a major depression. We may have little recessions, but the middle class still has not been hurt as much by the recession as the underclass. Now they see that the things they began to finance as a result of the New Deal are beginning to cost something, and there's full income, and depressions do not happen as they did before, and they are revolting at the amount of their disposable income going to continue to pay for the education, health, welfare, and employment of all these people to whom they no longer relate."

Gibson added: "The strangest thing happened with the federal tuition tax credit legislation that just passed. For the first time in my memory of working with an agency like the Urban League, we dealt with an issue where there was a split in the black communities on a class basis. . . . It's that mentality I'm referring to. Our group was as active as any other group and it has nothing to do with defeatism.

"But the other side [the black middle class] was for tax credit legislation. They didn't give a damn what it was going to do to the masses. . . . And what I'm saying is that that's the problem. . . . It's like a domino thing because now you have blacks who came through the fifties and sixties who think they should have arrived and therefore want to have more access with their money."

Session 3

"School Finance Reform: Prospects for the 1980s"

Denis P. Doyle, Assistant Director for Educational Finance, The National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C.

> *"They're [educators and their lobbyists] now caught in the anomalous position, with declining enrollments in the schools, of having to go back and argue that fewer kids cost more money. It's a difficult argument to manage and to marshal successfully and one which, at best, arouses suspicions in the legislators . . ."*

Denis Doyle characterized school finance reform as a state and local matter, although there is a strong federal interest in it.

> *Over the past century, school financing, whether informed or uninformed, has been the province of the states, and the federal government's role has been a very modest one. It wasn't until 1965 that there was any sizable federal presence in the elementary and secondary area; now it's about 8 percent of the overall expenditures. It's not a spectacular amount of money, but a significant amount, especially since it's highly targeted.*

In the last three years, federal interest has sharpened, Doyle said. The 94th and 95th Congresses took these actions:

> *They directed NIE to undertake a program of school finance reform, of research and dissemination.*
>
> *They directed the Office of Education under Section 842 of the education amendments of that year to manage a program for grants to states.*
>
> *They directed HEW, under the education amendments of 1978, to undertake a three-year program to examine school financing in all its ramifications.*

The HEW project is an effort on the part of Congress to think its way through what the federal role should be in this area. Looking toward the future, there are several major issues, according to Doyle. They are declining enrollment—this is true even in the central cities of the Sunbelt; the Proposition 13 movement; and the continued successful pursuit of a number of school finance lawsuits in various parts of the country.

There is also about $18 billion of federal funds going into education, money targeted to special populations. This covers health and nutrition programs in the Department of Agriculture; overseas schools in the Department of Defense; social security programs for orphans and survivors in HEW; the grants program for secondary education; and vocational education programs under the GI Bill. There are funds for day care which have an educational component, and Congress is deliberating over the possibility of tax considerations for public schools generally, according to Doyle.

He explained that NIE has sponsored research on school finance reform directed to the needs of state and local policymakers. Most notable have been studies by the Education Commission of the States (ECS) and the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL). The latter involves the operation of a series of challenge grants which state legislatures may propose on the basis of bipartisan support and their willingness to provide some matching funds for school finance reform activities. There have been studies in sixteen states.

Declining enrollment, Doyle said, is a continuing problem for the schools, especially in the central cities. "For decades educators and their lobbyists in the state legislatures have argued that more children cost more money." They must now go back and argue that fewer children still cost more. Legislators find this argument suspicious, and Doyle believes their counter arguments must be carefully monitored.

He explained that over the past decade state legislatures have responded to court-mandated school finance reforms by "drumming up" a surplus.

> *They've been able to employ the strategy of leveling up more districts, at least toward the middle, and, in some cases toward the top. There's been very little leveling down. Tax limitations have not worked very well in the past, but Proposition 13 changes all that.*

But Doyle believes that Proposition 13 is going to make leveling down a reality and will have serious implications for the public schools vis-a-vis private schools. He reviewed what has happened in the months since passage of the proposition. There has been a series of unintended, unanticipated consequences. State support for schools is up from an average of about 46 percent about a year ago to about 71 percent of the total, and it will increase, according to Doyle.

> *We're beginning to see the first leveling down of high expenditures—about 6 percent last year. My guess is another 6-8 percent will occur this year. We can expect some approximation of parity in California over the next four or five years.*

Doyle also predicted an increase in state control over schooling as the state's contribution continues to grow, and local control of schools will probably lessen. There is a chance that more authority may be delegated to the local school building. He sees a major assault on categorical funding. "The suburban districts, who have very few categorical students, few poor or handicapped kids, want to be able to share that categorical pie." Since almost all the federal grants are categorical, such an assault would have a major impact on federal funding.

Doyle stated that Proposition 13-type movements "set the stage for radical, rapid compliance. That is really the kind of thing we should

hope for because school financing under a 13-type mandate is clearly a state responsibility." There can be no delay in the equalization of funding, Doyle concluded, although it will require leveling down the budgets of high-spending districts.

It may be an unattractive form of compliance in terms of our reform interests. . . . So we've got the enrollment decline, the tax limitation movement, and the continued successful lawsuits; all of which suggest a period of little optimism for school finance reform, but certainly one of great interest [which] should sharpen our attention on the federal role over the next three years.

Jack Faxon, President Pro Tempore
Michigan State Senate, Lansing

"All this talk about finances is, get more money into the system, but if the system has not been able to demonstrate that more money produces anything different from what less money produces; that more students get anything less than less students, that more and less mean the same as less and more; then it's very confusing.

Jack Faxon referred to the many studies on school finance reforms over the last twenty years and termed this period "a very profitable one for doctoral students." It has been a safe area to study because it seems to require a renewal of information every few years, he said.

As he travels around the country, Faxon reported that he finds the general attitude is that the courts will decide the finance reform issues; so "Why should the legislature take an initiative if the courts will come in afterward and review it?" He finds, too, that the conservatism believed to be spreading across the country "is more a phenomenon of the media and the way they create the mystique around those aged ones as they go out with their last vestiges of life to vote down taxes."

He attributes the passage of a number of propositions to a kind of contagion the news media built up. In Michigan, when petitions were being circulated for a Proposition 13-type amendment, the media built it up every day. It became almost a race to get the necessary signatures and "everybody was beginning to feel, 'Let 'em make it, let 'em make it.' So you see them standing in shopping centers with the petitions, you figure, by God, you're going to give your signature so they can make it."

Most John Q citizens couldn't care less, and Howard Jarvis didn't mean a thing to them. But give them a little publicity and put them on the cover of Time, *these little, innocuous persons from Orange County suddenly become super-heroes, and it gives everybody a new lease on life. Why, anybody can become a star. . . .*

Faxon described the three propositions that were put on the ballot in Michigan: a voucher system that meant the destruction of public education; a replica of Proposition 13; and the Headlee Amendment, a spending limitation. "It was the innocent-looking one because it didn't involve any immediate changes but said there'd be changes in the future and 'We aren't going to describe it to you now because we think you ought to find out about it next year.'" The Headlee Amendment (Proposition H) was the one that passed. Spending under Proposition H is tied to a determination by the Department of Labor on the Consumer Price Index and another by the Department of Commerce on income in Michigan.

The wonderful thing about spending limitations tied to federal statistics is that it will allow you to know what you were allowed to spend eighteen months after you spend it.

That means that after you've gone through estimating what you think you have, you will find out eighteen months later whether you, in fact, had it, in which case you will then have to bring the level of your expenditures to the level that you, in fact, should have had which you didn't know you had when you don't now have it.

Faxon asked: "Is there ever a time when you don't need more money?" referring to the fact that the schools ask for more money for fewer students. He thinks educational administrators will "manage to find a way to justify needing more money when they don't have any students because then they're going to need money to go out and find them."

Competency-based education has more interest for the general public than school finance has, Faxon believes. All the talk about finances is designed to get more money into the system, but the system has not been able to demonstrate that "more money produces anything different from less money." Finance reform based on the thesis that if you give more money to those who have less, you'll get better results, brings on the question: "What are the results?" The result is to put finance reforms on the back burner until there are educational objectives to justify where the dollars will go, according to Faxon.

He discussed issues he thinks are likely to get attention in the next decade:

The categoricals, which are the only educational programs that tie some kind of dollar output to dollar input. "If we spend X millions of dollars on transportation we know we are transporting X number of students."

The Headlee Amendment in Michigan stipulates that any new programs established by the state must be funded by the state, but the state is already under a great deal of pressure to cut back on funding.

Declining enrollment. Its real impact is not in terms of fewer students, because, obviously, schools have a very provincial attitude about their function. They never see themselves as redefining the work in terms of trying to attract a different population. . . . What it means politically is more voters are voting who don't have children in schools. That means 75 percent of the voting public in Detroit do not have children in the schools.

So any time you put a proposal on the ballot which will affect school spending, you're going to find you're dealing with a large number of people who don't have children in the schools and are dealing with perceptions, ideas and attitudes that are circulating in the community, promoted in the press, and propagandized nationally in terms of achievement, vandalism, violence, in terms of all the things people usually find abhorrent. In addition to which, they find that young people today don't show respect to the elderly the way they used to.

Faxon believes supporters of the tuition voucher system will continue to try to find a proposal they can pass. "They will find one eventually that will be mother, apple pie, and the American flag, all wrapped up together so it will be hard to vote against it. The movement is very much alive throughout the country."

He explained one categorical program in Michigan which states that those school districts which are 125 percent over the other districts in spending on nonschool purposes are entitled to a separate "municipal overburden" payment. This affects older cities which have problems of transportation, of poverty and density. "So this type of categorical should be and, hopefully, will be funded, and other states are looking at it."

In summary, Faxon remarked:

> *. . . I'm convinced that the need for doctoral studies will promote more studies, because they never run out of subjects. And I believe that the more we provide in the way of studies, the greater the bibliographical references, the more opportune it will be for others to write studies which will ultimately reach a great crescendo in the year 2,000 when a special library will be established of the studies of educational findings of the past three decades that will probably be funded by the Ford Foundation or one of the other major foundations, and there you will be able to go in and look around in the Michigan Room, the Illinois Room, and you will have these fabulous studies that will go back through all the data.*

But decisions on educational funding are not predicated on factual studies, and never have been, according to Faxon. Old-fashioned political considerations determine these decisions.

> *So if you want to have reform and you have to use the same number of dollars you have today, that means you're going to have to take it from someone and give it to someone else. And when you do this, all the studies in the world aren't going to subtract the fact that Legislator A is in the district you're taking it from, and Legislator B is in the district you're taking it to. . . .*
>
> *If the last ten years tell anything about the next ten, in all likelihood we will be meeting here in 1989 talking about the prospects for the next decade. . . .*

Renee Marie Montoya, School Finance Coordinator, Chicano Education Project, Denver, Colorado

> *"We think a serious error has been made, and continues to be made, in the field of school finance, and that is the systematic exclusion of parents from the field."*

Renee Montoya began by saying, in response to Faxon's last statements: "I certainly don't intend to be here in ten years, saying the same sorry things I'm going to say today about school finance." She described the work of the Chicano Education Project: "We work in rural areas. We happen to think that rural areas have a lot in common with urban areas. We also have declining enrollment, and we also have high percentages of minority and poor students in the districts in which we work."

She dicussed the fact that parents have been excluded from the field of school finance because it is highly jargonized. It is important to broaden school finance "to include teaching parents how to monitor the money that's used in their district."

Montoya believes that the amounts of money for education will continue to decline because "we are experiencing a backlash against colored folks and poor folks in this country."

> *So what we're doing is teaching parents how to analyze their school district budgets and how to find out where the money's going and, more important, why it's going where it's going. They're finding out it's not that there is no money . . . but the priorities exist the way they do now in favor of children who do not have special needs, in favor of children who are fairly inexpensive to teach because they're white, middle class.*

Montoya criticized conferences that "do not include parents in the decision-making process, on the agenda, do not attempt to break down the language so that parents can understand what the hell we're talking about." If that doesn't begin to happen, she thinks "we will be here in 2000 or 1989, listening to the same old story."

She reported that, in Colorado, school districts which previously received a lot of federal aid are no longer applying for it because some of the federal programs give parents sign-off power in terms of discretionary use of money. And these programs are not being continued with district money.

She spoke of the educational deprivation of children in poor districts in Colorado due to school financing inequities.

> *One of the things that's happening in Colorado, and in every urban area in this country that I'm aware of, is the absolute hopelessness of a child in a poor district because of the way school finance is constructed. . . .*
>
> *I think this is an indictment of the whole school finance movement. One of the problems we had when we entered this field was that people asked: "What are you doing here? This isn't a colored issue. . . . It's okay to be involved in bilingual education, in Title I. School finance is not for you."*

She talked, too, about the paperwork that school finance people put out and the conferences they attend, where "I see the same people, saying the same things. I don't see a whole lot of minority people, particularly Chicano people, involved in that process."

Montoya spoke of a lawsuit, *Lujan* v. *The Colorado State Board of Education*, that was brought by the Chicano Education Project. [The plaintiff, Josie Lujan was present at the conference.] Montoya said the judge in the case was not interested in hearing about children and what decreased funding meant in human terms. Early in the case, the defendants filed a motion to dismiss the case, and the judge responded with a twenty-page opinion in which he said education was a fundamental right under the Colorado constitution—a national precedent. That opinion was exciting, Montoya said, so the judge's reaction to the children was especially discouraging.

> *But it only reinforced my opinion that the fight wasn't in the lawsuit at all; that it was simply a tool to organize parents around the issue, and we used it as such.*

She introduced the three parents with her, including Lujan, and said again that it doesn't matter how much money goes into the school districts if the parents have no power over how it is spent. Nor does it matter what kind of teacher association is involved and how we feel about minimum competency testing if there is no input from parents.

> *The bottom line is if you take your children out of school, the schools won't get the money, and that's the bottom line, that's the power parents hold.*

Discussion

Faxon commented: "All the changes that have taken place to which the courts have addressed themselves, to equalize dollar per pupil

cost, will not achieve equitable results unless it is recognized that it costs more to educate in some areas, because there is need for more resources in certain communities, and that has not been established.

A participant asked Senator Faxon in light of the separation of church and state, how does Michigan spend more than $30 million annually for private and religious colleges under Acts 105 and 75?

Faxon responded: "In the case of higher education, using the federal government as the precedent, it was established that adults can receive a stipend for attendance at school, as a right on their part to pursue an education, if the purpose of the schools they attend is educational, not religious. The aid for higher education is in loans, scholarship grants, which are given out competitively, or in money reimbursed to the college for the aid a student receives."

A further question was asked about the fact that funds for college students in the public sector were short by over $30 million, but there was a surplus in the fund for private and religious colleges which was going to be used for summer school at those colleges.

Faxon replied that it was not unconstitutional and that was the question raised. He stated it was not correct to assume that funds for the nonpublic colleges, not appropriated to them, would automatically go to public institutions. "So if, in fact, $30 million were not spent for the nonpublic higher education institutions, the money could easily have been spent in other areas of state spending. It was not in the province of the public institutions to use these funds."

A participant asked Senator Faxon what powers poor people have to influence political decisions.

Faxon replied, "Very little power. If the majority determines the course of events, you would have to ask, how many legislators are representatives of the poor? And you would have to conclude it's a very small number. You couldn't even conclude that the black legislators are representatives of the poor. If you break the state up, you find the people in the districts where there is the greatest number of the poor tend to be people who are least likely to vote and to actively participate in the political process."

He added that there are many unregistered voters and a high degree of transiency in poor areas. In statewide or district elections you have people who represent poor areas, but in all those areas there's also a better income area, Faxon said. "If you look at where the votes come from, you'll find that the people who get elected, even representing poor communities, really got elected out of the part of the area with the highest income." But other groups do "take it upon themselves to represent the overall good of the community as power brokers." And this has happened since 1967, Faxon said. "We did make some changes. We did begin to set up citizen councils and decentralization, and we did begin to become more involved, to the extent that that would maintain some economic and social stability so there wouldn't be conflagrations. That was the objective."

Faxon was asked by a representative of the National League of Cities about the municipal overburden provision in Michigan and whether it would "take care of the issue of equity as far as the distribution of resources was concerned. Would you make it a national proposal?"

Faxon pointed out that the situation differed from state to state, depending on the way the school districts are set up. "If the school district and the city are one, then it is all one tax, therefore you have to fight it out among those who divide that tax dollar up. Many other states have school districts that have political boundaries the same as the city but operate on an independent basis. Where you have two separate taxing units operating over the same political unit, the concept of municipal overburden becomes very fair and is a very useful instrument."

Faxon also referred to the fact that in future years a costly item will be the need to correct the underfunding of teacher retirement systems. There is a trend toward requiring that they be funded actuarily, so they won't be in jeopardy in later years. "If that happens, I believe it will take a much bigger chunk of dollars than anyone realizes, and the effect will be to immediately require cutbacks in services."

Session 4

"The Social and Economic Costs and Benefits of Public Education"

Earl Lewis, Chairman, Department of Urban Studies, Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas

> *"We have come to a point where there is really a fundamental conflict in this society between economic interests, as they are perceived, and the requirements of social justice. I think those of us who want to promote the interests of the public schools are increasingly going to have to find ways of making the case for involving the economic stake of the middle class in the education of the poor and minorities."*

Earl Lewis emphasized the critical importance of understanding "the cost of the under-education of masses of young people." He noted that this is difficult, because we do not have a great body of data and information. Nonetheless, he said, "we have got to speak to the interests of people who do not think they have an interest in public school institutions."

John Owen, Professor of Economics, Wayne State University, Detroit

"School Inequality in the Emerging Welfare State: Does it Make Sense?"

"Now as never before in the history of America, there is a way of looking at the question of educational inequality which offers every taxpayer a stake in equalization. The social costs of inequality, its effects on those it harms the most, poor people and blacks, are well known. Its fiscal consequences are newly recognized."

As a result of the social changes of the 1960s, most notably in the growth of the welfare state, the poor now impose such an impressive fiscal burden upon the tax-paying community that it has become worthwhile, even acting on a very narrow definition of self-interest, for the latter to take steps to reduce the number of the poor by expanding educational opportunity.

Owen commented that it is a paradox just when the need for an even more equalitarian policy has been established, that there is rising opposition to further change and even a withdrawal from earlier commitments. For many years the arguments of economists for educational equality were not heeded largely because the benefits were not seen as accruing to the taxpayers, according to Owen.

The better educated poor would pay somewhat higher taxes; but, generally speaking, they themselves would consume most of their increased production in the form of goods and services.

Another argument economists gave was that since employers would benefit from a better trained labor force, they had a special interest in providing educational opportunities for the poor, Owen said. Yet, here again, economic models showed that the benefits went chiefly to the workers, and a relatively small share was reflected as profits.

Owen noted that other economists tried to devise plans for loans and repayment schemes to raise funds for education. Some were purely loan arrangements; others offered opportunities for students to sell shares of themselves, or of their expected incomes, to the highest bidders. But programs of this kind have no application at the elementary and secondary school level, he said, and meet only a small share of the costs of higher education.

But, Owen pointed out, with the development of the welfare state in the United States came a device to compensate the taxpayer. "When education enables the lower class child to better himself, the child leaves the welfare rolls and benefits society as well." The welfare mechanism began with the New Deal in the 1930s, and so has been in operation a relatively short time. The program was cut back during World War II when unemployment dropped. Only during the Johnson Administration's War on Poverty were they expanded. The Aid to Families of Dependent Children program quadrupled between 1965 and 1972, Owen noted. The food stamp program was launched and now costs $5 billion annually. It reaches 6 percent of all households in the country.

Owen spoke then of the new government initiatives to reduce schooling inequalities which were also introduced in the 1960s. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was the first comprehensive national legislation for federal aid to education. The Civil Rights Act, passed in 1964, ended total segregation of pupils and teachers in the South and reduced it in the northern and border states. Both public and private colleges began to offer minority scholarships, and the growth of community colleges provided the working class more opportunities for a college education.

Yet inequalities persisted:

Segregation was still active—a black child was still much more likely than a white one to have a black teacher and black classmates.

There were more resources in suburban than in central city schools.

Educational attainment still showed a strong class bias.

Owen believes that the justification for the reduction of inequalities in education must be based on empirical evidence.

Surveys of AFDC mothers show a sharp reduction in welfare incidence as education increases.

Whether or not a woman is on welfare turned out to be determined much more by years of education than by social class origins as measured by the education and occupation of mother and father, race, and place of residence.

The woman with more years of education is less likely to be the head of a fatherless family. If she is, it is likely to be a smaller family.

Owen noted that some of these findings are reported in his book, *School Inequality and the Welfare State.*

The economic studies of the return on "human capital," some of which have attempted to gauge the earnings payoff to education, have been criticized for failing to take into account the influence of character differences, such as ambition and industry, on earnings.

It is impossible to refute common-sense arguments of this kind, except to say that in economics, strictly controlled laboratory experiments cannot be carried on.

The study on welfare showed that if each woman had two additional years of school, AFDC incidence would be reduced 40 percent.

A calculation of education costs for the state in that year for a black woman in those age groups discloses that the entire cost of the additional education could be financed by the saving in the cost of the AFDC program, alone.

But, Owen said, this would not be the total saving since the parents of welfare recipients also pay taxes. Sales and property taxes used to finance schools are regressive, falling heavily on the poor. And, since the cost of AFDC is only a fraction of the total cost of welfare, the full saving from reduced dependency is larger. There are other likely gains too, Owen pointed out, including a drop in the crime rate among unemployed teenage dropouts. Since welfare payments increase constantly, if inflation continues, present investments in the education of the poor will have many benefits for taxpayers. Investments in education have a post-school payoff of forty to fifty years, Owen said, and as levels of support for the poor rise, the gains from reduced welfare rolls increase.

He cited political gains as another benefit from improving educational opportunities for the poor and disadvantaged. Since political power is based on the theory of one man, one vote, equality of educational opportunity fosters the efficient working of the political system. The relative political power of the working class is considerably greater than it was forty or fifty years ago.

Owen raised the question "Is equality of educational opportunity a viable objective that should be pursued?" Some argue that help for the poor should be restricted to cash payments, a "negative income tax" in order to assure freedom of choice for the recipient. But this opposition is likely to fade, he believes, as it becomes clear that cash payments do bias choice. "It is the free choice of whether or not to work that is at risk." Other opponents of educational change argue that educational upgrading will create a surplus of educated workers and a shortage of the unskilled. But upgrading will not close the gap between the poor and the middle class, so there is not likely to be a flood of doctors and lawyers as a result. Instead we may increase the supply of competent clerks and technicians which an expanding technological economy requires.

Owen concluded by saying:

> *A policy of aggressively combating the remaining inequalities in education will encounter formidable opposition, even after the end of the prevailing mood of delay and backsliding.*
>
> *The best hope for overcoming these obstacles lies in the growing realization that because of the development of a so-called "welfare state," all American society tends to benefit not only morally, but also financially, from progress through education towards an equal distribution of skills and achievements.*

Margaret Simms, Associate Professor of Economics, Atlanta University

> *"To say that education is not a good societal investment because society does not produce jobs, is poor reasoning. While it may make sense for an individual not to invest in education because there are no jobs, it makes no sense for society to reach the same decision."*

Margaret Simms stated that education ranks first in government expenditures, accounting for 21.5 percent of general government payments in 1976-1977. Total expenditures for education by all levels of government in 1976-1977 were $110.6 billion; 42.8 percent of all local property taxes collected went to local school districts.

But education no longer yields economic benefits as large as previously. One reason is that, once a high school education became universal, future gains in productivity could not be as great, Simms said. The composition of the labor force is also significant; in the last twenty years it has moved from a manufacturing-oriented one to a service-oriented one. In 1955, 40 percent of the nonagricultural labor force was employed in manufacturing, mining or construction. By 1977 that percentage was down to 30 percent and the proportion of the labor force in finance, insurance and real estate, as well as service and government, increased from 30 to 43 percent. And, she noted, it is difficult to measure productivity in the service sector.

As a result of these problems, we tend to underestimate the benefits of education because most of our productivity gains are measured by manufacturing sector gains, Simms said. There are the same difficulties in measuring individual benefits from education. In 1969, college graduates earned nearly twice as much as grade school graduates; by 1974 they were earning only 75 percent as much.

> *This would seem to suggest that one ought not to invest in a high school or college education; and one should not, if income is the only reason for doing so. If a college education is of value for other reasons—because it broadens horizons, leads to cross-cultural exchanges, preserves humanistic values, whatever—then income gains are only a part of the benefits.*

Simms stressed the importance of jobs being available. Educators should know what skills industry and business are looking for. Government also should do more to provide information on job needs to the private sector.

Discussion

Lewis commented on an argument made in a report of the President's Urban and Regional Policy Group. "They suggest there is an economic cost to under-education which develops in a curious way. When you have economic growth and economic health in central cities, the gap between the skills of so many of the youngsters in those cities and the needs of the businesses in that prosperous economic sector mean that, even if things are prosperous in the central cities, you will have massive unemployment in these groups."

Owen added, "I think that there is a variety of factors—trade union influence, minimum wages considerably above the federal minimum wage, and technically progressive industries with their high skill demands—which combine to freeze out the low-skilled worker."

Marian McEvilly, a member of the Milwaukee school board, spoke of the situation in her city where the papers are full of ads for skilled workers. Businessmen, educators and others have organized to try to identify those youth, primarily minority youth, who cannot move into these skilled areas. "My question is about the dilemma of minority youth who are excluded in situations like this from employment; either because of structures that are operating that have to do with labor unions, or individuals coming into jobs through connections, or because of poor schooling. . . . What can one hope for in the educational arena when the argument that is presented by the larger community is: 'But there are jobs that exist, and if the children got the education, they could move into these jobs'?"

Simms responded: "I think you are talking about what economists call a short-term problem as well as a long-run problem. In the long run, the educational system should be able to deal with some of these issues. . . . And I believe the educational system should be better tied-in with local community needs, business needs, in order to restructure the curriculum offered in high school."

McEvilly explained that in Milwaukee they are doing these things, but that the children they should be reaching are not benefiting from the changes. "I am frustrated, as are the others, by the fact that in this period when resources are tightening up, people are saying the reason why children are not learning is not because we have not provided all these things for them, but because the children will not go to school, or will not learn, or the parents are not helping with their children."

Faustine Jones asked McEvilly what is being done directly with the parents of the children who are not performing or responding?

McEvilly answered that there are remedial programs and a number of outreach programs to try to bring the children back into the schools. She said there were 5,000 children who are unable or unwilling to take part in the structured school settings, who have been placed in a variety of alternative school programs. But, she stated, "I do not believe that those children's needs are being met."

Lewis commented that unless Milwaukee is very atypical, it is likely that the educational services may not be well planned and designed to meet the needs of the children.

McEvilly agreed and added that, in her community, those who are satisfied and are in the majority feel that the system is serving them. They feel that anyone else is not getting it because they don't want to, because they are not making the effort.

Simms commented: "I think one of the problems here . . . is the fact that the professionals claim that they are the only ones who can evaluate adequately, and they make the rest of the community incapa-

ble of contradicting whatever is going on. In other words: 'We know best for you and we will work it out.' " She suggested that McEvilly set up modest goals on some programs and begin to push for outside evaluation.

Evelyn Robinson reported that in New Jersey parents were asked to evaluate programs. "They understand the application, from front to back. We have an outside team which comes in and trains the parents step by step."

Winston Turner added: "I think parents ought to get in at the beginning of this business. In too many instances school systems, especially now that they are overstaffed, move into positions people who are not really capable of carrying out the assignment that is given them. Sometimes we have to insist that we become involved in these things, even though the professionals don't want you involved."

Turner returned to the topic of economic costs and benefits, and stated: "Someone needs to see what the social and economic costs are now, relative to what they might be if we educated youngsters properly in the first place. I think youngsters are fully capable of learning. You have to get the right combination of people who have the empathy, the concern and the skill to teach them."

Lewis responded: "I think we ought to be trying to set up an appropriate accountability system. I hope, too, that we can be a little more intelligent as we press the larger society for better investment in our schools. . . .

"One of the greatest and most pernicious myths we have in this country is the myth about who is on welfare. Welfare for the middle class is so much greater. . . . Housing subsidies, mortgage interest guarantees, and tax subsidies are massive. The real analysis is that the welfare system is working much better for middle-class America than it is for the poor."

Session 5

"Financing Public Education: The Threat of Disinvestment"

Alvin Townsel, Research Associate, Council of the Great City Schools, Washington, D.C.

"Although many states have reformed their methods of financing education, none of them has been sufficiently sensitive to the needs of urban school systems which enroll a disproportionate number of low income people."

Alvin Townsel asserted that his research on the threat of disinvestment tended "to support the contention that relationships do exist between the willingness of citizens to provide fiscal resources for public education and their willingness to accord equal educational opportunities to blacks and other minorities." A particularly conservative mood characterizes the attitudes of many persons on the support of public education, he said. This was evident, especially, after *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was decided, and it increased as desegregation became a northern problem. Despite school finance reform actions in some states, "none of them has been sufficiently sensitive to the unique educational needs of urban systems which enroll a disproportionate number of low income pupils."

Townsel discussed the state foundation program for equalizing educational opportunity prepared by George Strayer and Paul Mort of Columbia University in 1929.

> *Under their concept, the cost of a minimum foundation program was computed. And from the cost was deducted a uniform tax effort in proportion to ability to pay, and the deficit was paid from the state equalization fund.*
>
> *Under the original concept, the cost of the minimum program was computed on the basis of average practice in the state, and the required local effort was set at such a level that the wealthiest district received no state foundation aid.*

Townsel quoted the following from a report to Florida officials prepared by the staff of Teachers College under the direction of Mort and Strayer:

> *A high school teaching unit costs more than an elementary teaching unit and, according to average practice, a teaching unit in schools for white children costs more than a teaching unit in schools for colored children.*

So, Townsel said, the Florida school finance plan provided 1.43 times as much for a high school unit as for an elementary one. The cost of an elementary teaching unit for colored children was set at about half the allotment for an elementary teaching unit for white children; a high school teaching unit for colored children was set at 84 percent of the allotment for white children.

Foundation programs set up in the South, using Mort and Strayer's formula, resulted in inferior schooling conditions for black children in that region in 1939-1940, Townsel noted. For example, average expenditure per white pupil enrolled was $49.35; for black pupils, $19.31.

Today, he said, the concept of fiscal neutrality developed by Coons, Clune, and Sugarman in *Private Wealth and Public Education*, does not differ greatly from that of Mort and Strayer. The theory is that "a child's education should not be a function of the geographic area of the state in which he lives." *Serrano* v. *Priest* in California was based on this premise, but it is clear from a reading of *Private Wealth* that "as far as they were concerned there were no disparities based on race," according to Townsel.

Mort and Strayer's foundation program has been superseded by more recent school finance reform plans which, for the most part, Townsel said, consist of variations of power equalizing. He noted that an analysis of such a model in California by Robert Singleton revealed that "power equalizing results in resource declines in districts over 20 percent black in such a way that these districts contribute money to

other districts." And within these districts, blacks face resource declines from power equalizing greater than those faced by whites in the same districts. Townsel commented that *Serrano* was really a compromise, although we tend to think of it as a great step forward.

He termed *Rodriguez* another setback.

> *In that case the court decided that what is to be considered an equitable system of school finance is to be determined by state courts and state legislatures, not at the federal level.*

As examples of disinvestment, he referred to Proposition 13 in California, the proposed voucher system in Michigan, legislation similar to Proposition 13 passed in Idaho and Nevada and presented in ten other states. There has been an increase in federal aid to private and parochial schools. Townsel cited a recent study by the Lawyers Committee on Civil Rights Under Law, which documented the underfunding of majority black school districts in the South. In Ohio there were instances of fiscal actions directly related to the courts' attempts to desegregate the schools, Townsel stated. Dayton at one time refused federal aid rather than move on desegregation, he said.

> *Investment in public education is a wise investment, for the individual and for society. The pattern of investment for a large segment of the population in America has been uneven, consisting of no investment, compromises, and disinvestment. This pattern has resulted in the denial of equal educational opportunities for many minority children.*
>
> *To overcome this evil, it is essential that the agenda for the '80s include increased involvement of minority persons in the design and implementation of fiscal models.*
>
> *OE and NIE should provide leadership by immediately involving minorities in the congressionally-mandated school finance studies scheduled to begin this year.*
>
> *There should be more adequate monitoring of school finance proposals.*
>
> *An action agenda must be developed to utilize research findings and organize a national action group to encourage the implementation of equitable school finance systems.*

William A. Harrison, Jr., Staff Director, Ohio Education Review Committee, Columbus, Ohio

> *"Ohio isn't a state that is disinvesting. This is a state that never invested in education. . . . We spend less in proportion to our income for government than any state in the union except Alabama."*

William Harrison began by quoting a *Newsweek* article called "Ohio's Troubled Schools" published in September 1978:

> *If opponents of the taxpayer's revolt tour Ohio, they can report that they have seen the future and it doesn't work. By refusing for the last decade to meet rising education costs, the local citizens have permitted Ohio schools to become a disaster area.*

Harrison pointed out that there is still considerable investment in public education. Most states and the federal government have invested more money in public schools in the last ten years than at any other time in our history. The rate of increase in expenditures per pupil has been higher than the rate of inflation—higher than the growth rate of resources and, for the most part, higher than the growth of our tax bases, according to Harrison.

> *We rank fortieth among the fifty states and the District of Columbia in our expenditures for public education in proportion to our income.*

Harrison believes that a backlash against expenditures for public education will continue to be felt.

Ohio cities have felt the effects of municipal overburden on investment in public schools, he reported. (Municipal overburden, he explained, is one of those jargonistic terms in the school finance movement that simply refers to the fact that tax burdens for all kinds of government services tend to be higher in the central cities than in the suburbs or rural areas.) This is especially true in Cincinnati where there is a school finance case pending. Municipal overburden also has been the greatest influence on legislative policymaking in school finance in Ohio and Michigan. Unlike Cleveland, Cincinnati has invested a great deal of money in its downtown area. "But the result has been inability to get more public support for public education and that's why they turn to the state. So municipal overburden is a real problem in Ohio, as in other states, which contributes to disinvestment," Harrison said.

> *Another factor contributing to disinvestment is poor school management. I nominate Cleveland. . . .*
>
> *In Cleveland, in addition to the other problems you're familiar with in cities in economic decline, we have had a school system that really didn't know what it was doing, didn't know what it had and didn't have. Although patronage has been a real problem, it's one that's hardly ever discussed in the state.*
>
> *I'm not confident that the state legislature can ever or will ever really deal with that. I think it will probably only be solved by people in Cleveland themselves. But we haven't had adequate controls; we haven't had honesty in the management of the system.*

Harrison said "classism" is another factor which contributes to disinvestment. He pointed to the differences among Americans along class lines, socio-economic status divisions, as to what they want from public schools for their children.

> *For all of us who think that education is important, an important key to social mobility, to a more equitable society, there are also people who think that what you learn in school isn't really very important. What's really important is learning to work, the discipline of having to work for a living or what you read in the Bible or many, many other things. . . .*
>
> *And these differences are exacerbated by our conventional notions of what a school is.*

Harrison believes that to a large degree, problems of disinvestment in urban education in Ohio are an expression of racism. "Attitudes in Ohio are not very different from attitudes in Texas, where I grew up, or any place else in the South," Harrison said.

> *The declining economy in the United States is going to contribute to disinvestment. . . .*
>
> *Our position in the world is changing and this, I think, is the principal source of the current taxpayer revolt. This is what is feeding inflation, and the real taxpayer revolt against government spending is strictly a response to inflation.*

Harrison suggests that when there are many forces people can't control, they have a tendency to turn to one area where they can exert some control—an area like government spending.

> *And this, I think, is what President Carter is responding to. It's what every state legislator is responding to. The number one event in their lives in the last year has been Proposition 13 in California.*

He thinks that the increasing interest in voucher systems is a reflection of the dissatisfaction many people feel with one or another aspect of the public schools. "It is vital to understand and explain to people the other kinds of problems they create when they're trying to solve that particular problem," he continued.

Harrison expressed support for the concept of fiscal neutrality—trying to give all communities the same choice about the level of funding in their schools. "Right now in most states, most communities don't have equal choices; the rich ones have some choice, and the poor ones don't have much choice," he said. Giving this choice to poor districts, Harrison believes, may be a step in the direction of persuading society that there is need for greater equality. He noted that the alternative that is proposed in Ohio now is a foundation system with a high level of guaranteed funding.

> *But with the foundation formula . . . while we will have more pupil equity, at the minimal level of funding it will still be possible for many school districts, many communities to levy additional taxes to support their schools and there will continue to be great differences.*

With a fiscally neutral system, Harrison thinks, it would be possible "to link the aspirations of the wealthy to those of the poor and make it a requirement that if the wealthy do want to add to what is spent on their schools, they've also got to deal with the needs of the poor at the same time."

> *Unless you get that locked into your system we're never going to achieve any equalization. The rich can always pull out faster at the top than the state can support everyone else at the bottom.*
>
> *I think that's one of the products of the school reform movement. It's a very dangerous prospect.*

Harrison stated that if these problems are to be solved we must get the facts. The linkage with the rich is important, too, "if we are going to do something about the poor." There will have to be a new rhetoric for the '80s—some new expression of our conventional values—if change is to come. That will be a real challenge to the leadership, he concluded.

Gerda Steele, Director of Education Programs, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City

> *". . . Equal spending does not necessarily mean equal education. We can allocate the funds but what happens with the implementation of those funds? What pots do these particular funds go into? Do they go into teachers' salaries or into viable curriculum reform?"*

Gerda Steele commented on the fact that 1979 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Brown* decision. "I see the eroding of the financing of the public schools as another means of killing the desegregation movement in this country."

> *One of the mandates of the* Brown *decision in 1954 was that segregated schools violated federal law. And it held that segregation of children in public schools on the basis of race deprived minority group children of equal educational opportunities and therefore denied them the equal protection of the law under the Fourteenth Amendment.*

Steele believes the new conservative public mood is infringing on the rights guaranteed by the *Brown* decision. She described that decision as a beam of light pointing the way through the "labyrinth of problems" in the public schools.

Steele stated that, throughout its history, the NAACP has strongly supported and been a part of the whole desegregation thrust in the public schools of the country. She believes it is crucial that government programs be monitored "to see how the laws are implemented and to see whether there are points on which these laws must be challenged."

> *As a civil rights organization, we are opposed to any measures that would seek to consolidate these compensatory programs into one big bulk. . . .*
>
> *We think that many schools have achieved racial integration on paper only, but have maintained the whole pattern of internal segregation and racial isolation through racially-motivated practices which have resulted in victimization of minorities.*
>
> *And we are committed to eliminating that whole system of teaching and class assignment of people which is still common in this country today.*

Steele said the problems of desegregation remain and "What was done in the South is nothing compared to the kind of practices we have had to deal with in places like New York State, Ohio, Indiana, Baltimore and Boston." She referred to a recent article in *The New York Times* listing twenty cities in distress. These same cities also have educational systems in distress. She referred to the decisions in *Serrano* and in *San Francisco Unified School District* v. *Johnston* which spoke of the inequality of educational opportunity and its consequences.

> *The quality of educational opportunities is fundamentally a matter of equality of access to financial resources. . . .*
>
> *But the very nature of the educational system in the United States which encompasses three levels of government, local, state, and federal, lends itself to inequities.*
>
> *Enclaves of educational wealth and poverty continue to exist side by side.*
>
> *Characteristics of the dilemma include such issues as equity of distribution of resources between city and suburbs, the impact of state and federal aid, and the influence of differential assignments of fiscal responsibility between state and local governments.*

Steele then discussed recent state, federal, and local initiatives that will contribute to the ill health of the public schools:

1. In 1977, the Biden-Eagleton anti-busing amendment would have provided for the denial of federal funds for busing. It was defeated.
2. In 1978 there was the tuition tax credit bill introduced by Senator Patrick Moynihan which was also defeated. The NAACP opposed both bills.
3. California's Proposition 13 was passed and "carbon copies" of it are being pushed in other states.

4. The voucher system initiative in California may be placed on the ballot this year.

5. The competency testing issue, against which the NAACP has taken a stand, has been introduced in almost every state.

Steele referred to severe fiscal problems which are resulting in school closings and program cutbacks. These are also reflected in school systems forced to desegregate, and the high costs involved. "The money is there but they don't want to spend it for that purpose—to bring equal access and equal opportunity," she said. She mentioned, too, that the whole legislative process must be monitored. She told of a state in which a desegregation suit had been won and was about to be implemented. The state legislature then passed an initiative stating that state funds could not be used for busing.

Steele reviewed briefly the history of the NAACP and desegregation. From its inception, the NAACP has maintained and focused on desegregation through its various policy statements and resolutions and through the filing of a multitude of law suits around the country. Since *Brown*, it has increased its emphasis on and interest in desegregation. She spoke of the need to examine the implications and fallout from the *Bakke* case, to follow the *Weber* case, and to study the Columbus and Dayton cases which will come up to the Supreme Court this year. Other desegregation cases are at a standstill now, waiting to see the outcome in the Columbus and Dayton suits, she added.

Discussion

A participant asked if a metropolitan tax sharing program, even on a sub-state level, would be a step in the right direction toward solving the fiscal problems of city schools.

Townsel answered that "the number of school districts in the country has decreased substantially over the past five years and this has helped to an extent." But historically, he said, education has been local and this concept of the community school must be dealt with in terms of school governance. "I'm not sure a coterminous school system such as that will solve the problem. You raise the question of fiscally dependent versus fiscally independent, politically dependent versus politically independent school districts."

The same participant discussed his question: "I'm wondering if we have outlived the usefulness of some of the political jurisdictions that we now have, including school districts. If you look at New York State and realize that the historical function of a county there was essentially to register births and deaths and collect taxes, and look at all the functions the counties now deliver, maybe what we need to do is redefine what our government structure at the local level should be."

Harrison commented that this type of metropolitanism would be hard to accomplish because small communities tend to be homogenous, and people can agree on what they want for their schools and they like that. "Obviously there's no way to solve the desegregation problem of many cities within their current boundaries. But to try to move to metropolitan governance would be extremely difficult. On the other hand, we may well be able to attack [metropolitan governance] through one function at a time. We already have models of that going on."

Session 6

"Community Resources for Public Schools"

Marilyn Steele, Program Officer, The Mott Foundation, Flint, Michigan

> *"Despite all the indications of mediocrity in our schools, there is very little willingness on the part of teachers or administrators, generally, to change. The schools are still an agrarian model running from harvest time to planting time."*

Marilyn Steele asked: "Why should we restore confidence in schools which perform inadequately?" She went on to list a number of indications of school failure: the decline in SAT scores, high dropout rates, lack of preparation for jobs, lack of preparation for college. Finally, she commented that on the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, Topeka, Kansas, where it all began, "is more segregated today than twenty-five years ago."

And despite the problems, educators generally are not willing to make changes, Steele said. She added that she has little faith that merely using public resources for public schools will solve any problems. "And I think a few conditions must be met if we are going to benefit by using community resources." For instance:

1. Educational change begins at the building level. The school must reflect the community through planning and involvement of its citizens.

2. The principal is the key leader in educational change. He or she must be committed to a partnership role for community people, trained to be a community leader who is charismatic and cooperative with the community, and accountable to the community for the building budget. (According to a survey by the Institute for Responsive Education, only a few community groups or councils have more than token roles. One of these is in the Adams-Morgan community in Washington, D.C.)

3. The faculty must be committed to school priorities and to the principal as the leader of educational change in the building.

4. There must be an in-service training resource which reflects the community's and the school's priorities in training teachers in new methods and new curricula.

Under these four conditions, Steele believes the community can be a living resource to enrich classroom learning.

> *If kids are going to learn about employment, they need to see people working. The school cannot provide that model, but business and industry can. Counselors need to know the local job market and job requirements based on their frequent contact with the workplace. AC Spark Plug has already spent $100,000 to establish an industrially-based internship experience for seniors from two high schools in Flint. The average attendance rate has been 95 percent. Parents, educators, and the kids themselves are ecstatic about it.*

Community volunteers enhance classroom learning by reducing the adult/student ratio so children have more opportunity for contact with a teacher or a tutor, Steele said. Senior citizens are a valuable asset and "can make history live with their experiences."

"Community groups can be organized advocates for change at the local and state levels," she continued. She mentioned a project for citizen involvement in collective bargaining in the schools directed by Mario Fantini of the University of Massachusetts. The Children's Advocacy Center in Oakland, California, is organizing citizens as change agents by establishing good working relationships with the central office and the local school building staff.

Steele discussed other community resources, such as baby clinics, planned parenthood centers, dental screening and follow-up care, which should be available to schools. Physical examinations for children should be matched to individualized physical fitness, health and recreation programs. All of the enrichment resources of a community can be available to expand classroom learning, Steele continued. "Every community has some fine resources available, some willing volunteers, some needed human services; but it takes a committed principal, a committed faculty and dedicated, informed citizens for community resources to make a positive difference."

Charles B. Tisdale, Federal Coordinator, Cities in Schools Program, Washington, D.C.

> *"Frequently, we find that in trying to develop a solution or find a remedy to a problem, people overlook the most immediate resource—and that is the student."*

Charles Tisdale discussed "Cities in Schools" (CIS), "an operating model of how community resources can be coordinated to support the public school effort." It is now serving over 3,000 students in eighteen schools in three cities. Thirty-four agencies take part in the program. CIS is based on three premises: people are whole people and should be treated as such; the school is central to the life in the neighborhood, so CIS built its strategy around coordinating services and bringing them into the schools; and the problem is not a lack of resources but the way they are delivered.

The ideal model includes forty students and is called a "family," according to Tisdale. The family is subdivided into four groups or "caseloads." Four full-time CIS staff persons, selected from existing social agencies, and a teacher, work with each family. The four staff positions are:

> *A youth coordinator who has overall responsibility for the functioning of the group as a family and frequently coordinates with the student's family.*
>
> *A programmatic specialist who plans special in-school programs and out-of-school trips, leisure time and recreational activities.*
>
> *A social worker responsible for seeing that individual needs for agency services are met, for counseling and legal help.*
>
> *A supportive educator responsible for remedial education services.*

Each person on the team also has two other roles—to connect the family up with the services of his or her agency, and to serve as a caseload worker responsible for ten students. The small groups and the way the program is structured makes for accountability. Morale is good, Tisdale reports, because the results are talked about among the students and the professionals on a day-to-day basis.

Frank Sanchez, Coordinator, Educational Services, East Los Angeles Community College, Monterey Park, California

> *"The major role of the community college is to be accountable to the community. . . . What we are trying to do is find out how we can assist community groups and organizations sponsoring their programs without competing . . . with them."*

Frank Sanchez described the section of Los Angeles in which East Los Angeles Community College is located. The population is 76 percent Chicano and Spanish-speaking (Latino groups from Central and South America); about 10-12 percent Asian, including a great many Chinese and Indochinese; about 10 percent black. The remainder are white, ethnic groups including a great many Armenian and Turkish students. There are many low income families. It is probably a counterpart of Watts in terms of the Spanish-speaking community.

There are about 635 public community colleges across the country, Sanchez reported.

> *Our bases of support—it was not this way before in California; but with Proposition 13, we are now about 90 percent supported by state funds and are reimbursed like a school district for average daily attendance. The other 10 percent is derived from specially funded programs, foundations or federal funds.*

The average age of students at East Los Angeles Community College is twenty-nine; the nationwide average is twenty-seven. Sanchez observed that the students do not necessarily come to get a degree but are often seeking specific preparation to improve their opportunities in their present jobs. "So we don't have people graduating in a regular two-year program, as was probably the case in the early sixties," he said.

The basic purpose of the community college is to be accessible to the community, and to help those who wish to prepare for a four-year college. Sanchez referred to amendments to the Cooperative Education Program, a federal program, which now allows community colleges to sponsor and develop cooperative education programs with business.

Under the Special Services Higher Education Act, Sanchez noted that East Los Angeles Community College is working with a number of community-based organizations, especially those with CETA programs. A college can form a partnership with a community organization which has a CETA program and provides training in some of the academic areas for the project. The college has been asked to form health management boards under the new Health Manpower Program. Since there is a "health manpower shortage area," the college has to come up with a comprehensive health plan for the community.

> So we are working with the local health groups that sponsor health programs or wish to sponsor health programs and finding out just what our role should be—not in delivering health services but assisting them to prepare people to enter the health profession.

Sanchez referred to the National Council on Resource Development, a new council established as a part of the American Association of Junior and Community Colleges (AAJC). They have received funds to sponsor a program to train resource development officers for each of the community colleges.

John O'Neill, Coordinator of Initiatives, Community Development Agency of New York City

"Advocacy was a child of the sixties and there is not a lot of interest and not a lot of fire left in terms of people who were active in the sixties."

John O'Neill commented on the bad press the anti-poverty programs have been getting and the low esteem in which they are held by the public. In New York City the people working for the program have been portrayed as "poverty pimps, politicians, hustlers, and ripoff artists of one kind or another." He attributed the pressure against the poverty program to the growing conservatism in the country.

He noted that there are twenty-six officially designated poverty areas in New York City, almost 100 percent black and Hispanic. In each there has been an umbrella organization, the Community Corporation, a conduit between the central Council Against Poverty and local delegate agencies which actually performed the services. The Community Corporations will lose their funding [as of January 31, 1979], he noted, and there will then be direct contracts between the central agencies and those that perform the services. O'Neill said under the new setup a substantial minority of the programs will be in the hands of white ethnics.

The concern for maximum feasible participation of the poor has been almost totally washed out. The total concern of the program now is for fiscal accountability and for monitoring the program with respect to where the funds are going. . . . You are not talking about much money in most cases. You're talking about very small programs in which nobody touches the money, basically, but that has nothing to do with what is going on.

At one time there were about ninety agencies offering education programs through the community corporations. Now there are about fifty or sixty storefront agencies which give direct services to the community—run basic adult education programs, high school equivalency programs, and an English As a Second Language program. The other part of the program is advocacy, bringing the people who have been outside the school system into the system. O'Neill says they are encouraged to attend community school board meetings, to run for the community school boards, to work for breakfast and lunch programs. "When their children have problems in the schools, we serve as advocates. . . . We give college counseling, career counseling, high school counseling. We have been the advocate for the dispossessed in New York City."

Discussion

Lillian Millner asked what the organizations represented at the conference were doing to support the International Year of the Child (IYC). The federal agencies are not doing much about it, she said.

Sanchez told of the child development programs set up under the Early Childhood Act in California. The college has been "working with these centers to sponsor programs to assist their personnel in management of the center, planning, budgeting, and curriculum development. Some of the issues that have emerged at the conference, he believes, will be a part of the agenda of IYC conferences. He referred to Marian Edelman's speech and her suggestions for action that he plans to take back.

Julia Palmer asked Tisdale if all the "families" in CIS are in junior high and high schools.

Tisdale referred the question to Kathlyn Moses, also from CIS, who said that the program began in the high school but now there are elementary programs in Atlanta, New York, and Indianapolis. The policy is to start in the lower grades, now she said.

Palmer then asked about funding and was told that CIS is funded by the Office of Education. Initially the program was funded by seven different federal agencies.

Evelyn Robinson described the New Jersey Citizens' Union for Public Schools which advocates for students and parents. "The interesting thing we are finding is that the myth about parents not caring is gone. We know they care, and they are ready to learn about the school boards function, about how to read a budget, about voter registration and so forth. One thing that we want to know is whether there are any national parents' coalitions."

Various persons mentioned the National Coalition of ESEA Title I Parents, the National Committee for Citizens in Education, and a parents' union in Philadelphia.

Session 7

"Tax Policies in the 80s" How Will We Pay for Our Schools?"

John W. Dobbs, Assistant Superintendent for School and Community Affairs, Michigan Department of Education, Lansing

"I am supportive of the notion that the ultimate responsibility for education in the state should be that of the state. I believe that education is a constitutional right. It has not been so stated. . . . Education should be provided to all without any measuring up, down, across of who has got what, but the money should be there according to the need. It should be afforded to all, regardless of color, sex, handicap, whatever."

Dobbs stated that a recent survey showed most people opposed the property tax as a basis for financing the schools but reject other alternatives. He noted that Michigan had voted down a voucher proposal and a mini-Proposition 13 in the last election. He listed five assumptions as conditions for his recommendations:

Given existing systems of school finance, there will continue to be inequity both in collection and distribution of school funds.

Public sentiment will continue to oppose the property tax as the basic method of financing schools.

Educational needs will continue to grow in the '80s.

Public demand to equate levels of academic achievement with funding allocations will continue to increase.

Inflation will continue to erode the purchasing power of the dollar.

Dobbs recommended a continuing effort to develop and implement full state funding programs for public education. But full state funding is opposed for a number of reasons, he said. One is that people fear a loss of local control; others in high property wealth districts (suburban) oppose it because their children are doing well, although "there is a school next door with youngsters the same age, with the same aspirations, but with low wealth and very inadequate facilities."

Full state funding could be established to guarantee active participation of local residents in educational decision making as with the federal compensatory education programs. Full state funding would mean that every student in the state would receive the financial support necessary to provide a "quality" program in education. Full state funding would mean that students would receive equity and opportunity in education regardless of race or ethnic origin.

There must be continued efforts to identify and utilize alternative sources of generating tax revenues for schools, Dobbs believes. State general fund monies are generated largely from the state income tax, the sales tax, the state single business tax, and the state corporate tax; but there are several other possible sources:

1. The huge amount of nonresidential property currently not on tax rolls is a potential source of revenues. It is estimated in Michigan, Dobbs noted, that if all this property were taxed, the total revenue would outstrip the entire budget. Examples of exempt property are church and religious institutions, utilities, private property granted tax abatement by various governmental units, foundations, and so on. The idea of levying property taxes on such institutions will generate wide discussion and argument, Dobbs believes, but "I think we have a moral obligation to move in that direction."

2. Graduated state income taxes is another possible source of revenue.

3. The federal government is another source of increased revenues, and is already taking a larger role. Dobbs noted that some persons believe schools should endorse the concept of one third/one third/one third support from local, state, and federal government. He observed that 80 percent of the salaries of the over 2,000 employees in the Michigan Department of Education are paid by federal funds. The legislature, to control the funds, insists it must approve the allocations of all monies coming into the state.

He recommended also that programs be developed and implemented to insure that more women and minorities become actively and visibly involved in the school finance issue. "Those of us who have not been a part of the decision making process must become involved," Dobbs said. He praised the Columbia University program which is training young Latinos and blacks in school finance.

Another area to examine as a possible path to school finance reform is cross-district financing—"to eliminate the imaginary boundary lines where necessary, and fund districts across district lines," Dobbs added.

He commented on education outcomes:

I think somehow we have to establish a system whereby, if monies are made available in the state for school districts to do certain things, we would have a notion of whether or not they have done them.

We have a state assessment program in Michigan. We have a means of determining whether certain academic levels are achieved, but, under the present system, there is no means of allocating funds based on that, legislatively.

I think somehow we are missing the boat in this country. . . . As long as this remains a country predicated on riches and privileges for the few, and the crumbs of what is left over for the many, and the many support that basis, you will never, never have an equitable system of education finance, or anything else, in this country.

Albert Cortez, Director, School Finance Program, Intercultural Development Research Association, San Antonio, Texas

"The property tax as a source of revenue in Texas, about 40 percent of everything that is spent on education, amounts to about $1.6 billion. We realize that if you move totally away from the property tax, there will be a need to tap other resources, and it is so much easier to keep tapping what you have got than to find a new source of money."

Albert Cortez began by saying that, from his perspective, education is a state responsibility. The movement away from the property tax as a source of school funds means there must be an alternative source of revenue to replace it. The property tax in Texas provides about 40 percent of all monies spent on education, roughly $1.6 billion. There are some school districts in Texas, Cortez said, which have a tax base of over $1 million behind each pupil and others have as little as $100,000.

I think it is important that local people be given the opportunity of contributing to the support of their educational programs. Beyond the economics, the issue of ownership comes into play.

But, Cortez said, we cannot rely exclusively on the local property tax base as a source of revenues—even though it is large. It does "free up state resources to concentrate the money in those school districts that do not have a high tax base and have large concentrations of children with special needs."

Cortez believes Texas is about ten years behind the times in terms of tapping revenue resources. Thirty-six percent of all state revenue comes from oil and gas production taxes which will dry up eventually. Then other sources of revenue will have to be found. Now "what we are talking about are things like the corporate income tax, an increase in the sales tax, possibly an oil refiner's tax, and, as a last resort—and it would take a constitutional amendment—a personal income tax."

Discussion

Cora Roberts commented that "people know they pay property taxes, but they don't know where they are going or what they are paying for."

Dobbs agreed but said there is often an effort to obfuscate. "They make it so difficult to break it down for people."

Clara Rutherford agreed: "I think there is a conspiracy." She told of her experiences when she first became chairman of the Detroit Board of Education Finance Committee. "I would ask for certain kinds of information and my request would be, frankly, ignored. . . . I had to go to outside sources just to get information that should have been readily available to anyone. And particularly if I were going to be in a sensitive position, how was I going to react if I did not have some hard data? . . .

"I did come to that position with a background in banking. . . . I was a neophyte in terms of the ins and outs of that system, but I had the knowledge of finance. Had I not had that knowledge, I would not have been able to ask some of the questions you need to ask in order to

be productive. . . . Someone who comes in eager to do good, eager to participate, but with no background, is just lost because they deliberately keep knowledge from you."

Rutherford went on to talk about allocation based on need: "One of the first things that I insisted on in Detroit was that we stop saying we wanted equal dollars, because equal dollars is self-defeating.

"So what I made the state byword for the Detroit public school system was "equal services," because we might require $800 worth of services in order to make good use of that $20 textbook and you might not require that. . . .

"When you talk about allocation to the greatest need, who defines need? When you have a rural-based legislature—which most of the legislatures are in this country—they define need in a way that totally eliminates Detroit."

Cortez commented: "The whole point of equal treatment of unequals is discriminatory, and in *Lau v. Nichols*, on the language issue, the court made that distinction. Ironically, in other areas, we're still in the process."

Rutherford emphasized the importance of people in the educational system having a knowledge of math and finance. She mentioned persons coming up through the system to a master's degree with no math after eighth grade. Teachers need to know more about school finance, she said.

Cortez suggested that school systems should be required to train in this area.

Roberts agreed, saying students in the high schools now will need to know all aspects of running their schools.

Johnson added: "The point I am trying to make is that kids need to know about school finance, as do people in the community and people sitting on those boards of education."

Rutherford commented: "It leads to some very hard feelings when you see these disparities [in school facilities for blacks and whites]." She also told of the proud moment at the Detroit Board of Education when Detroit schools' test scores topped those in neighboring Dearborn which had always led. The Dearborn Board of Education attributed the gain to federal funds in Detroit. Rutherford called the federal funds "artificial yeast in the budget," because an evaluator comes from the feds and says, "Hey, look at your test scores. Good. We can draw back that money."

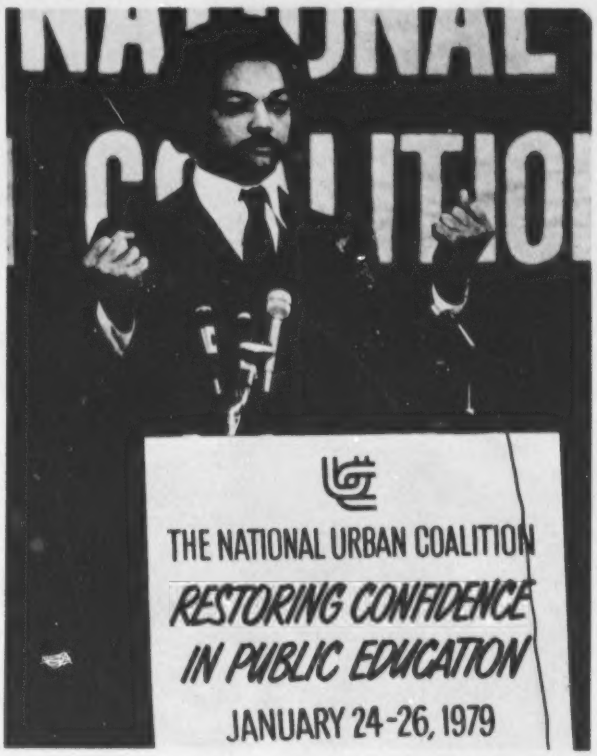
Cortez agreed that the system works that way. He said, "Certain federal programs reward failure. If your kids are not performing, you get federal money."

Dobbs commented: "You are absolutely right that we reward failure. In other words, we offer to continue to grant funds at the same level while the kids are at a reduced level of learning. If youngsters do improve, they take away the bucks. What we have to do is to develop public policy that will prevent that happening, that will ensure that once funds are allocated for whatever purpose, those funds become a part of the operating budget."

Closing Session

January 26

Reverend Jesse Jackson addressed the closing session of the conference at which M. Carl Holman presided. Following a performance by the Drama Club of Philadelphia's Lehigh Elementary School, Holman ended the session with a charge to action.



Jesse Jackson, President, Operation P.U.S.H.

"Race has caused us to build schools where we don't need them, and pitted parents against parents. Race has allowed boards of education to waste taxpayers' money fighting illegal, immoral court battles. It has allowed politicians to exploit our emotions for their political gain."

Jesse Jackson expressed the belief that one of the great challenges to American educators today is to try to pull education out of isolation and into the center of our sociocultural matrix, then to radically redistribute the responsibility for the education of our children. He stressed the fact that the impact of factors, external to the schools, on the minds of children is causing the schools to collapse. He listed some of these factors and some of the solutions:

Teen-age pregnancy epidemic—Last year there were 1,100,000 teen-age pregnancies of which a half million were ended through abortion.

Drugs--From cigarettes to marijuana, to angel dust, to alcohol, we are using pill power to cop out, rather than developing will power to cope with.

Media addiction—By age 15, our children have watched 18,000 hours of television, and listened to even more radio. This compares with 11,000 hours of school in the same period and 3,000 hours of church.

Massive parental detachment—Parents are the foundation of the educational system. Parents must do four things: meet their child's teacher and exchange home telephone numbers; monitor study hours, at least two a night with TV, telephone, and radio off; pick up their child's report card; pick up their child's test scores.

Racial tension—It is the number one threat to domestic tranquility and forces us to pay the economic and moral burden of two societies. Each of us has the moral challenge to teach the advantages of cultural diversity, and the disadvantages of social and cultural isolation.

Affirmative action—We must not pretent to be indifferent or naive, because the opposite of love is not hate; it is indifference.

Budgetary deemphasis on education—It is a bad sign when our military budget is increasing in peace time and our education budget is declining in real dollars. Schools at their worst are better than jails at their best.

Impact education—The impact of the new era of media heroes and sheroes is so great, their public conduct must reinforce our highest moral values.

Moral authority—Education must not only be knowledgeable; but must be believable, trustworthy and caring. If we revive moral authority, discipline will be perceived as therapy, not as punishment and will be responded to, not reacted to.

Competency tests—If their purpose is not to diagnose, detect, and develop rather than to delete and destroy, they will become a tool for neo-elitism.

Education, Jackson said, is confronted with a dual crisis—external and internal. The external threats are racial traumas in and around the schools, an assault on the public economy, and *Bakke*-ism. The internal threats are a loss of moral authority, moral decadence, mass media diversion, a crisis in effort, and massive parental detachment. Jackson believes that racial stresses constitute the greatest threat to education in America. "If we are to save our children, we must first conquer the mountain of race." Race saps our spirits and absorbs valuable energy. It has divided families and communities and has polarized our children."

Race has caused us to build schools where we don't need them and pitted parents against parents. Race has allowed boards of education to waste taxpayers' money fighting illegal, immoral court battles. It has allowed politicians to exploit our emotions for their political gain.

The desegregation agenda today should include three things: enforce the present law, desegregate the power and the children, change people's hearts and feelings as we do their behavior.

Jackson commented on the assault on the public economy. "In the name of high-sounding and noble causes, we are experiencing an all-out assault on the public economy. . . . But the real agenda is to undermine the public sector, because 'public sector' and 'black and Hispanic' have become synonymous." The movement manifests itself in different ways—in California as Proposition 13; in other states it is a rejection of school bond issues; in Washington it is the Packwood-Moynihan legislation.

Supporters of Proposition 13 were correct in saying that tax reform is needed, Jackson said, but it is reform, not a blind tax rebellion, that should be supported. He noted that in the early 1930s, 66 percent of the taxes were paid by corporations and 34 percent by individuals. Now, startlingly, 68 percent are paid by individuals and only 32 percent by corporations.

Proposition 13 was so full of punishment of the poor and blacks that many people voted against their own best interests, trying to get somebody else.

So, California will find that, as soon as the $5 billion surplus runs out, their right arm has been amputated—their surplus—but their left arm, which still needs tax reform, will still be present and acting.

President Carter, rather than leading, is conceding to these negative forces. The president's psyche is split. . . . He says all the right things; tremendous psycholinguistics, progressive rhetoric, but with regressive economics. He signed the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill for unemployment, and cut back on jobs for the jobless.

President Carter's 1980 budget represents doom for blacks, browns, the poor, and city dwellers. The contradiction is that he speaks for peace, and he is smoking the peace pipe, but it has gunpowder in it. . . .

He has betrayed the constituency that put him in office. We must not only analyze, we must do something about this. We must revive the major coalition of labor, the church, human rights and civil rights organizations.

They should come together across racial and sexual lines, come back to Washington in large numbers on a single theme, "Put America Back To Work." . . .

We cannot speak of education in a vacuum apart from the social and political climate of our day.

Jackson underscored the inequalities that exist in many fields, giving as examples:

One black doctor for every 5,000 blacks. One white doctor for every 549 whites.

One black attorney for every 4,000 blacks. One white attorney for every 680 whites.

One black dentist for every 8,400 blacks. One white dentist for every 1,900 whites.

Thus our mission is to close the gap. If they have to put us in schools that exist now, or build new ones, our mission for equity and parity must be clear. . . .

Education and employment costs less than ignorance and incarceration. We must argue our case.

Jackson advocated changing the approach to school strikes. Teachers should mobilize in the summer and challenge mayors, boards of education, and corporate communities to identify with their grievances. They must fight the system but not put the burden of the strikes on the children and their parents.

The only solution is to put a third seat at the negotiating table—the union representing the teachers, the board representing the city budget, and parents representing their children.

Jackson turned to competency testing and why blacks are justified in being skeptical of them.

Somehow, when you raise the question of giving blacks tests, our resistance is not paranoia. It is rooted in experience. We are concerned about the test and the tester. And, the motive for the test, and the interpreter of the test.

He commented on the fact that the poorest communities have the highest concentration of liquor stores and drug distribution. "If I were a real paranoid, I would say it was planned that way. A steady diet of drugs and premature sex, imbalanced and confused definitions of manhood and womanhood, lend themselves to the weakening of the human spirit."

There is one thing worse than not having opportunity, and that is not having the will to exploit it.

What does it matter if the doors of opportunity are wide open if we are too drunk to stagger through? What does it really matter if the teacher has a Ph.D. if we never show up for class? What does it matter if the teacher uses an old book or a new one if you open neither because you have lost your urge to learn and your will to excel?

Jackson characterized the black English movement, the use of idioms as standard language as a loss in the belief that our children can learn. "People have a habit of putting down what they can' do well. I argue that you ought not to be down on what you ain't up on."

He advised parents not to expect anyone else to raise their children. "Even the poorest parent is equipped by our God to be an essential parent." He suggested a new ritual at graduation time this year—that the graduates should receive their diploma in one hand and a voter registration card in the other. By that time they should be familiar with voting machines, should have had the experience of mock elections, or the civics teacher should be accountable, according to Jackson.

The fact of life is that even if they are low on reading and writing, and high on political power, they still will survive. They can be high on reading and writing and disenfranchised, and they still cannot make it. But, praise God, if we have got both—a developed mind and a political lever—nothing and nobody can stop us.

M. Carl Holman, President, The National Urban Coalition

"We are going to fight against the budget cuts that have been indicated for the schools, because it is very clear that if the federal government begins to draw back in its determination to support education it will be easier and easier for the states to do it."

Carl Holman referred to an article on education by Fred Hechinger in a recent issue of the *Saturday Review*. Hechinger wrote that public education and the public schools are in the greatest danger in their history. Holman suggested that just as in the past "we had put together a national committee for the support of public schools, we had better get busy right now."

Holman referred to a recent meeting with Vice-President Mondale when he had asked the Vice-President if the administration were really serious about the Department of Education. The answer was affirmative. Holman stated that the National Urban Coalition would fight with the administration for a separate Department of Education and against tuition tax credits.

That means that you have got to get people to write and to fight on this issue. We are going to fight against them on the budget cuts that they have indicated for the schools, because it is very clear that, if the federal government begins to draw back in its determination to support education, it will be easier and easier for the states to do it.

This budget on which we are in disagreement . . . is a negative bet—a negative bet on us. It is a positive bet on the opposition; that the opposition is stronger than we are; is better organized than we are; that it will stay the course longer than we will.

They are betting that we think it is better to bemoan the meanness and the aggregate power of the anti-school, anti-black, anti-Hispanic, anti-poor, than to forge a national alliance in support of better public schools.

The force at the moment seems to be with the opposition. The force can be with us. . . .

Hundreds of years ago, Milton said something we need to remember now: "I cannot praise a cloistered and fugitive virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary. . . ."

What Milton said hundreds of years ago, a young ghetto kid said recently: "There are lots of folks who can talk the talk; we don't have enough folks who can walk the walk."

Holman closed the final session with a promise:

We are going to be in touch with you. We want you to be in touch with us. We are going to build a coalition of forces. . . . And, we are going to prove that we did not simply come here this weekend to talk the talk. Next year, the year after, the year after that, we will show you that we can walk the walk.

LIST OF ATTENDEES

The National Urban Coalition's National Conference on "Restoring Confidence in Public Education: An Agenda for the 1980's

January 24-26, 1979

The Sheraton Inn and International Conference Center Reston, Virginia

EVERETT E. ABNEY
Dade County School Board
Miami, Florida

BENNY ANDREWS
CMACAO
Columbus, Ohio

DR. LILLIAN ANTHONY-WELCH
George Mason University
Fairfax, Virginia

DR. AMELIA ASHE
New York City Board of Education
New York, New York

MR. DAVID ASHE
New York, New York

THOMAS I. ATKINS
NAACP Special Contribution Fund
Boston, Massachusetts

NORMAN AUERBACH
Coopers & Lybrand
Washington, D.C.

WARREN H. BACON
Inland Steel Company
Chicago, Illinois

JAMES BAILEY
Denver Public Schools
Denver, Colorado

ARLENE BAKER
Ohio State Department of Education
Columbus, Ohio

DR. JOHN W. BAKER
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

RUTH A. KER
Urban Coal on of Metropolitan Wilmington, Inc.
Wilmington, Delaware

GAYE BARKER
National Education Association
Washington, D.C.

ANNE BARTLE
Urban Coalition of Metropolitan Wilmington, Inc.
Wilmington, Delaware

DR. GLORIA BECERRA
United States Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

MICHELLE BELLE
Dominguez High School
Compton, California

BETTIE G. BENJAMIN
D.C. Board of Education
Washington, D.C.

DR. CHARLES S. BENSON
University of California
Berkeley, California

DR. MARY F. BERRY
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

LORRAINE BESS
University of the District of Columbia
Washington, D.C.

DR. CHARLES L. BETSEY
Congressional Budget Office
Washington, D.C.

MILTON BINS
Council of the Great City Schools
Washington, D.C.

ROBERT W. BLACKBURN
University of California
Berkeley, California

PHYLLIS BLAUNSTEIN
National Association of State Boards of Education
Washington, D.C.

O. P. BOBBITT
Texas Center for Volunteer Action
Austin, Texas

ST. CLAIR BOOKER
Operation P.U.S.H.
Chicago, Illinois

DR. BOYD BOSMA
National Education Association
Washington, D.C.

VIOLA W. BOSTIC
Philadelphia Urban Coalition
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

THOMAS BOYD
Chemical Bank of New York
New York, New York

ELAYNE D. BRODIE
National Association of E.S.E.A. Title I Parents
Newark, New Jersey

BERTHA BROWN
Youth Directions
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BURRELL BROWN
Greater Business Development Corporation
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

DR. LORRAINE H. BROWN
School District of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

MILTON BROWN
National Institute of Education
Washington, D.C.

ROBERT BROWN
American Friends Service Committee
Macon, Georgia

DORIS BRUMELL
University of the District of Columbia
Washington, D.C.

DR. DENNIS CABRAL
New York City Board of Education
New York, New York
(For The National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C.)

AARON CAMPBELL
Seton Hall University
South Orange, New Jersey

DAVIS CAMPBELL
California State Department of Education
Sacramento, California

DIANE CAMPBELL
University of the District of Columbia
Washington, D.C.

JEFFREY T. CARLSON
Urban League of Rochester, New York
Rochester, New York

ALICE E. CARTER
Urban League of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

DR. HOLLY M. CARTER
Northeastern University
Boston, Massachusetts

JAMES CATTERALL
Stanford University
Stanford, California

MARIA CERDA
The Latino Institute
Chicago, Illinois

DR. FRANCIS S. CHASE
Dallas Public School System
Dallas, Texas

THE HONORABLE SHIRLEY CHISHOLM
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

GILBERT CISNEROS
Chicano Education Project
Denver, Colorado

JOYCE CONSTANTINE
Montgomery County Council of PTAs
Rockville, Maryland

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Economic Development Council of New York City, Inc.
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IRMA CORREA
Western Electric Company
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ALBERT CORTEZ
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OLIVE COVINGTON
National Institute of Education
Washington, D.C.

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New York, New York
(For The National Academy of Sciences,
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BARBARA CROSSET
Urban League of Greater Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

KENNETH CROSSMAN
University of the District of Columbia
Washington, D.C.

DR. LUVERN L. CUNNINGHAM
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

JOCLYN DALEN
University of the District of Columbia
Washington, D.C.

DR. LINDA DARLING-HAMMOND
The National Urban Coalition
Washington, D.C.

CAROL L. DAVIDOW
Cincinnati Business Committee
Cincinnati, Ohio

WALTER G. DAVIS
AFL-CIO
Washington, D.C.

D.C. YOUTH ORCHESTRA
Senior Wind Ensemble
Washington, D.C.
(Conducted by West Coile)

DR. J. L. DeCHURCH
Dade County Public School System
Miami, Florida

DR. EDWIN T. DEMERITTE
Dade County Public School System
Miami, Florida

DR. JOHN W. DOBBS
Michigan State Department of Education
Lansing, Michigan

DOUGLAS HIGH SCHOOL STAGE BAND
Baltimore, Maryland
(Conducted by Dr. Reppard Stone)

DENIS P. DOYLE
National Institute of Education
Washington, D.C.

PHILLIP T. DROTNING
Standard Oil Company
Chicago, Illinois

MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN
Children's Defense Fund
Washington, D.C.

CARLA EDLEFSON
Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools
Columbus, Ohio

JOHN H. ESPINOSA
Los Angeles, California

JOE L. FARMER
Yonkers High School
Roosevelt, New York

THE HONORABLE JACK FAXON
The Michigan State Senate
Lansing, Michigan

DR. BRUCE FLEMING
United States Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

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Del Campo High School
Carmichael, California

MICHELE FOSTER
Sudbury Metro Program
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Boston Public School System
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University of the District of Columbia
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Winston Salem, North Carolina

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National Center for Educational Statistics
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ROSALYN GERALD
Applied Urbanetics, Inc.
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New Orleans, Louisiana

CAROL GIBSON
The National Urban League
New York, New York

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Department of Health, Education and Welfare
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Maryland State Board of Education
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PATRICIA GRAHAM
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DAVID GRIM
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ORETHA HALEY
New Orleans, Louisiana

STEVE HALLMARK
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
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DR. IRVING HAMER
Park Heights Street Academy
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DR. EDWIN HAMILTON
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MURIEL HAMILTON
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DR. SARAH E. HARRIS
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WILLIAM A. HARRISON
Education Review Committee
Columbus, Ohio

DIANE MARIE HAWKINS
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DUNCAN HELMRICH
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

DR. RAJA HELOU
University of the District of Columbia
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SANDY HENINBURG
National Institute of Education
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NAT HENTOFF
The Village Voice
Washington, D.C.

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Urban Coalition of Metropolitan Wilmington, Inc.
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J. O. Sanderson High School
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M. CARL HOLMAN
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LARRY HORWITZ
New Detroit, Inc.
Detroit, Michigan

MICHAEL HOULEMARD
The Pasadena Urban Coalition
Pasadena, California

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New York Urban Coalition
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